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## CLEAVAGE IN BERTRAN DE BORN AND DANTE

The central impression one receives from Canto XXVIII of Dante's *Inferno* is that of the horror of bodily cleavage or mangling. Zingarelli<sup>1</sup> notes that the personality of Bertran de Born dominates this canto, and suggests definitely that the punishment of Mahomet (ll. 25-31) is reminiscent of the words of the Provençal poet, "e de fendutz per bustz tro a'ls braiers."<sup>2</sup> This motif, however, is not confined to a single passage in Bertran, but seems to hold for him the highest of fascination. The complete stanza, from which the single line has been quoted, and a number of other passages as well deal directly with the idea of bodily cleavage:

S'amdui li rei son pro ni coratjos,  
En brieu veirem champs jonchatz de quartiers,  
D'elms e d'escutz e de brans e d'arzos  
E de fendutz per bustz tro a'ls braiers,  
Et arratge veirem anar destriers  
E per costatz e per pechs mainta lanza  
E gauch e plor e dol et alegranza:  
Lo perdr' er grans e'l guazanhs er sobriers.<sup>3</sup>

Ni anc no'n vi bratz ni flanc  
Tronchat, ni chamba ni testa  
Ferit de plaia dolenta,  
Ni ab gran host ni ab genta  
No'l vi a Roam ni a Sais;  
E membres li qu' om li retrais  
Qu' anc en escut lanza no frais.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Bertran de Born e la sua boigia," *Rivista d'Italia*, XI (1908), Part II, 689.

<sup>2</sup> A. Stimming, *Bertran von Born* (Halle, 1913), No. 26, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 16, p. 94.

Ara parra qui miells poiran  
 Sofrir los maltrachs ni·l mazan;  
 Maint cheval bai e maint ferran  
 Maint escut, maint elm e maint bran  
 E maint colp ferir demanes,  
 Maint mur, mainta tor desfacha  
 Veirem, mainta testa fracha,  
 Maint chastel forzat e conquès.<sup>1</sup>

Qui·s n'aia mals o bes  
 O empacha o desempacha  
 O bratz rotz o testa fracha,  
 Que tan m'es de·ls mortz com de·ls pres.<sup>2</sup>

A Peiregors, pres de·l muralh,  
 Tan que·i puosch' om gitar ab malh,  
 Venrai armatz sobre Baiart,  
 E se·i trop peitavi pifart,  
 Veiran de mon bran com talha,  
 Que sus pe·l chap li farai bart  
 De cervel mesclat ab malha.<sup>3</sup>  
 Porc qu' om reguarda milhargos  
 Fai melhor escoutar que vos  
 O nafrat, quan hom lo talha.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to these passages there are others which, while they do not specifically refer to cleavage, do describe scenes with which physical mangling would naturally be associated. Among these may be mentioned the poem beginning, "Be·m platz lo gais temps de pascor,"<sup>5</sup> in which the whole tone is suggestive of the strife of war, stanzas 4 and 5 dealing particularly with the picture of the grim details of combat; and the poem in which Bertran states that he has been requested to write a *canzo* wherein

Sian trenchat mil escut,  
 Elm et ausberc et alsoto,  
 E perponh falsat e romput.<sup>6</sup>

The doubts raised by Jeanroy and Santangelo concerning Dante's knowledge of any of the works of Bertran have been adequately re-

<sup>1</sup> Stimming, *op. cit.*, No. 3, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 38, p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 41, p. 139.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1, p. 59.

futed by Moore.<sup>1</sup> It is generally agreed that Dante was quite familiar with at least the biographies and *sirventes* of the Provençal poet; and it seems probable to some critics that Dante followed as his model for the form of the *Vita Nuova* the combination of prose *razo* and verse which is found in the manuscripts of the work of Bertran de Born.

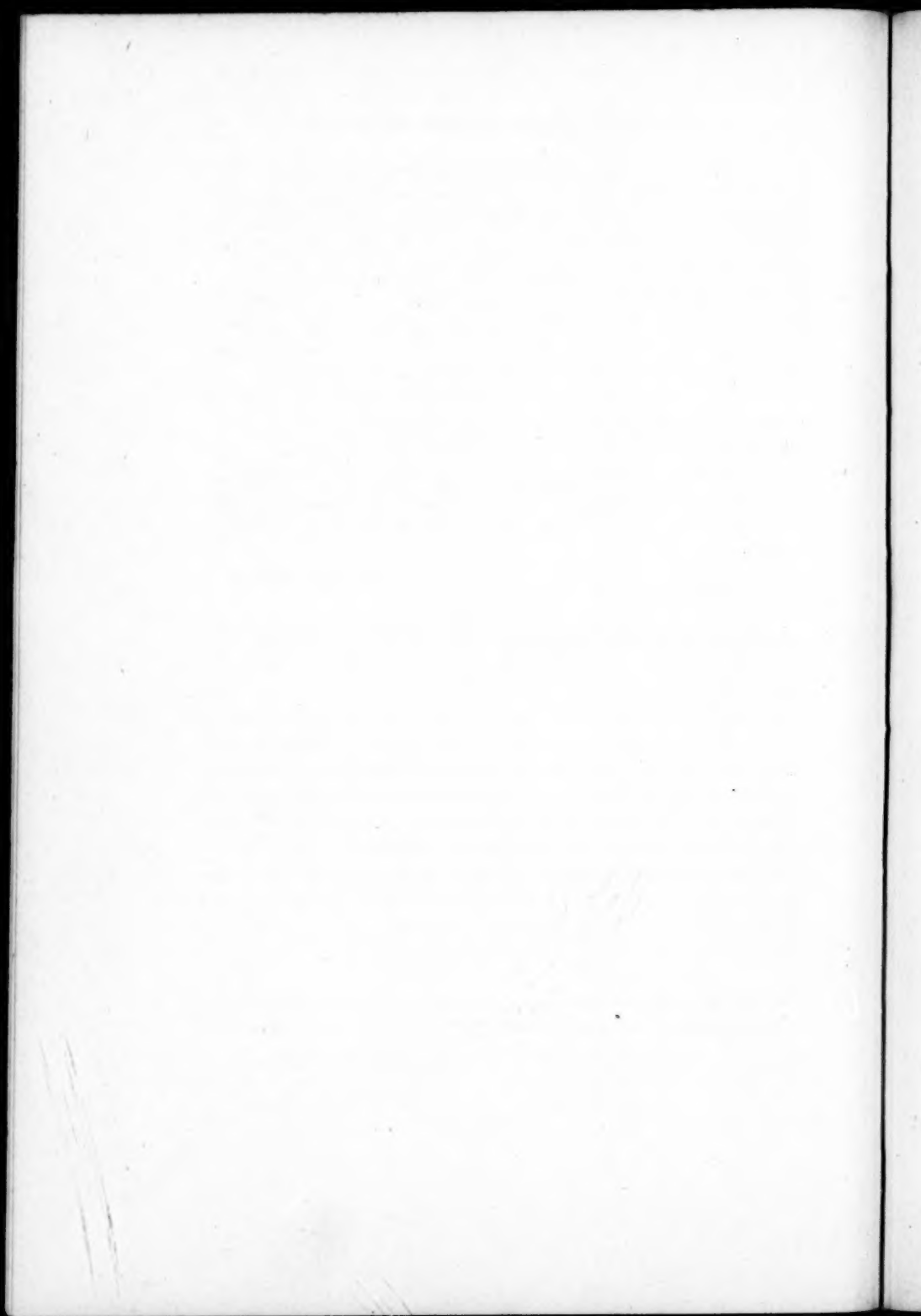
Given the possibility that Dante knew some or all of the poems of Bertran de Born, the resemblance of the cleavage passages in them to cleavage as the dominant idea in the canto in which Bertran is the central figure would seem to be too striking to be coincidental.

It seems, indeed, that we may reconstruct Dante's thought as follows: As he thought of the sowers of discord, Bertran appeared to him as the most significant example; Bertran himself naturally suggested one kind of suffering—the cleavage which he so delighted in describing; and Dante, seeing its appropriate symbolization of the sin to be punished, chose it as the torment for Bertran and his fellow-sinners.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Young King, Henry Plantagenet, in History, Literature, and Tradition*, "Ohio State University Studies," No. 12, pp. 74-78.





## WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S *LIFE OF ST. PATRICK*

William of Malmesbury (b. 1090-96, d. 1143?) is well known to students of English history as the author of the *Gesta regum Anglorum*. He is rather less well known as the author of certain tracts intended to advance the interests of Glastonbury Abbey. During the period of William's literary activity the monks of Glastonbury were engaged in an effort to bolster up the tottering fortunes of their Abbey. They had embarked upon a vigorous advertising campaign in which it was asserted that Glastonbury had been from the earliest times the place most favored of saints and princes, Welsh, Saxon, and Irish; that the church could trace a continuous existence from its apostolic foundation in the second century; and that the first abbot of the monastery was no less a person than St. Patrick.

Some time between 1129 and 1135<sup>1</sup> William compiled a tract, *De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesie*, in which there is assembled a remarkable collection of forged charters and falsified traditions. In this book there appears the statement that St. Patrick spent the last thirty years of his life as abbot at Glastonbury, and that he died and was buried there. William's personal responsibility for this extraordinary assertion has been rendered doubtful by the discovery that the *De antiquitate* underwent extensive interpolations during the twelfth century. In his dedication, however, our author states that he has written a *Life of St. Patrick*.<sup>2</sup> If we had this document we should be a step nearer to an understanding of the part actually played by William in Glastonbury affairs. Unfortunately, it is lost.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the date see G. Baist, "Arthur und der Graal," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XIX (1895), 327-28. The work is dedicated to Henry of Blois as Bishop of Winchester, a position which Henry did not assume until 1129. Baist thinks the book must have been completed before 1135, the year of accession of Stephen, because in the last chapter Henry of Blois is spoken of as brother to Theobald of Blois and nephew to King Henry, but there is no mention of his being brother to King Stephen.

<sup>2</sup> *De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesie*, in *Adami de Domerham historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus*, edited by T. Hearne, Oxford, I (1727), 3 ("Illos ergo libellos [two books of the Life of St. Dunstan] set & vitam beati Patricii, miracula venerabilis Benigni, passionem martiris Indracti, quæ simil cura procuderam, jam pridem in eorum permisi versari manibus. . . .")

<sup>3</sup> William Stubbs, the editor of William's *Gesta regum Anglorum* and *Gesta pontificum*, makes the following comment: "The lives of S. Patrick and S. Benignus, which our author professes to have written, do not appear to have been identified with any known works on these saints. [In a footnote he adds: "Leland's extracts from the Life of St. Patrick, Collec-

We are not entirely in the dark regarding its contents, however, for John Leland, the industrious antiquary of Henry VIII, found a copy of the first two books of the *Life* in the library of Christchurch (Hampshire) and made a full summary of them.<sup>1</sup> To anyone who is interested in the sources and methods of William, the natural thing to do is to compare this summary with other documents relating to the life of St. Patrick. In view of the large number of such documents it is necessary that we simplify our task as much as possible. It will help to clear the ground somewhat if we can determine at once just what our summary is worth for purposes of comparison. It consists of the following material:

- (1) A list of incidents presumably in the order in which they appear in the original.
- (2) A few topic headings which may or may not be direct quotations.
- (3) A quotation from the *Confessio* of St. Patrick.
- (4) A few passages which seem to be in the words of the author.<sup>2</sup>

tanea, II, 273 sq., show that the first book was largely drawn from the *Confession* of St. Patrick." They have served as the basis of the biographies preserved by John of Tinnmouth, or by Capgrave, but the opinion of those who have examined them for the purpose of identification is unfavorable to the supposition that they proceeded from the pen of the author of *Gesta*. There is no doubt much to be done as yet for the bibliography of English Hagiology, and the tracts of William of Malmesbury may yet be discovered; but it must be borne in mind that he cannot be fairly regarded as the inventor of the Glastonbury 'Heirarchia'; and that, should further discoveries be made, it will not be necessary or logical to credit him with the original imposture, by which, as likely as not he was too easily deceived." [The heirarchia to which Stubbs refers is the long list of saints who were supposed to have lived at Glastonbury or to have been buried there.] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque; Historia novella libri tres*, London, 1887-89 (Rolls Series, No. 90), pp. cxi-cxx.

<sup>1</sup> *De rebus Britannicis collectanea*, edited by T. Hearne, London, III (1774), 273-75.

<sup>2</sup> The last-named class of items is very important. Every fragment of William's text, however small, is precious to us in a search for the documents he used. There is one passage which Leland definitely asserts to be in the words of the author. Another by its use of the first person singular stamps itself as William's. Still others may be regarded as authentic by reason of their appearance in the work (1) of John of Glastonbury and (2) of an unknown commentator on William's *De antiquitate*.

John of Glastonbury at the beginning of the fifteenth century compiled a chronicle of the affairs of Glastonbury (*Johannis cofratrie & monachi Glastoniensis, chronica sive historia de rebus Glastoniensibus*, edited by T. Hearne, Oxford, 1726) in which he included the material of the *De antiquitate* with certain additions from other sources to bring the history of the abbey down to date. In this chronicle there are four passages on St. Patrick (pp. 7, 60-61, 61-62, 68-69) and one on St. Benignus (pp. 69-70) which contain verbal parallels to corresponding passages in Leland's summary. The same material about St. Patrick appears in a marginal note in a manuscript of the *De antiquitate*. (It is printed by Hearne, pp. 11-15, with a note that the hand is modern.) Here, however, the material, instead of being broken up into four sections, is all in one piece, forming a sort of compendium of miscellaneous information about St. Patrick.

It is helpful to find two separate passages which, except for minor details, agree with each other, and in turn agree with Leland's summary. It would be even more helpful if it could be safely assumed that they are independent of each other; but an examination of John's methods is enough to convince us that the material in his chronicle is merely taken over from the manuscript of the *De antiquitate*. In his general treatment of the material

If William set to work seriously to compile a Life of St. Patrick from varied sources, the information furnished by the summary can help us very little in our search for the documents he used, for each item, considered alone, can be found in various lives compiled before the time of William; the particular version used by William, therefore, can be distinguished only by a careful comparison of texts—and we have only a few fragments of William's text. If, on the other hand, he followed the usual practice of the hagiographer and selected as a model an earlier version of the Life of St. Patrick which he followed closely in its main outlines, the summary will enable us to recognize it, for it will contain most if not all of the facts of the summary and will relate these facts in the same order as the summary. Should we be unable to find a life that satisfies the first of these two requirements, the investigation must be abandoned. If we do find such a life, our next step is to make a careful examination of the order of its elements.

The following printed texts represent the principal versions of the Life of St. Patrick which we may assume to have been in existence in William's time:

1. *Confessio Sancti Patricii*, in *Libri sancti Patricii*, *The Latin Writings of St. Patrick*, edited with translation and notes by Newport J. D. White, Dublin, 1905. (Reprinted from *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, XXV, Sec. C.)
2. *Fiacca's Hymn*, in *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, edited by Whitley Stokes, London, 1887 (Rolls Series), pp. 404 ff.
3. The commentaries of Muirchu in *Liber Ardmachus. The Book of Armagh*, edited with introduction and appendices by John Gwynn. (Published for the Royal Irish Academy) Dublin, 1913.
4. The commentaries of Tirechan, in *The Book of Armagh*.
5. The homilies from the *Leabhar Breac*, in *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, ed. W. Stokes.
6. "Vita tripartita," *ibid.*
7. "Secunda vita S. Patricii. Authore (ut videtur) S. Patricio Iuniore aliove magni Patricii discipulo," in J. Colgan, *Triadis thaumaturgæ seu diversorum Patricii Columbæ et Brigidæ, trium veteris et maioris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ sanctorum insulæ, communium patronorum, acta, etc.*, Louvaine, 1647, pp. 11–16. (V<sub>2</sub>)

of the *De antiquitate* he did great violence to the structural organization of his original without altering the phraseology to any marked degree. He nearly always quoted directly, but he broke up some passages, combined others, and incorporated marginal notes into the text with such lack of discrimination that stupid repetitions frequently mar the continuity of his narrative. For our present purpose, however, one independent version of this material is sufficient, not only to establish certain portions of William's text, but to fill in lacunæ which Hearné apparently found in the manuscript of Leland's summary.

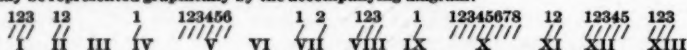
8. "Tertia vita S. Patricii. Authore ex vetustis membranibus Biburgensibus in Bavaria," Triad. thaum., pp. 21 ff. (V<sub>1</sub>)
9. "Quarta vita S. Patricii. Ex veteri Cod. Perg. M.S. Alnensis coenobii. Authore (ut videtur) S. Elerano Sapiente." Triad. thaum., pp. 35 ff. (V<sub>4</sub>)
10. "Quinta vita. B. Patricii primi prædicatoris & Episcopi totius Britanniæ vita, & actus. Authore Probo." Triad. thaum., pp. 51 ff.
11. "Sexta vita S. Patricii. Archiepiscopi primatis & apostoli Hiberniæ. Authore Iocelino monacho Furnesio," Triad. thaum., pp. 64 ff.

Of these versions only the long and comparatively late compilations collected by Colgan contain a convincing proportion of the items represented by the summary. It is our task, then, to compare these versions with the summary with regard to the arrangement of facts. The value of this process for the identification of the document used by William depends, of course, upon the amount and grouping of detail in the summary. An account which related only in a general way the outstanding events of Patrick's life would be useless for purposes of comparison. Fortunately for our inquiry, however, Leland, like many other people who summarize documents which lie directly before them, did not plow to the same depth all the way through. Sometimes he reproduced the succession of events in great detail; sometimes he even quoted the exact words of the author; and at other times he merely touched the high spots. Thus we are furnished with a sort of pattern which reveals not only the general design of the work, but also certain individual peculiarities of arrangement.<sup>1</sup>

Applying this pattern as a test, we find our choice restricted to three versions, V<sub>2</sub>, V<sub>3</sub>, and V<sub>4</sub>; all the others present irreconcilable divergences of structure. V<sub>2</sub> corresponds with the summary for the first dozen paragraphs; and then the resemblance ceases. The same is true of V<sub>4</sub>. V<sub>3</sub> alone seems to qualify as a candidate for further comparison.

Professor Bury's investigation<sup>2</sup> of this Life reveals the fact that it is

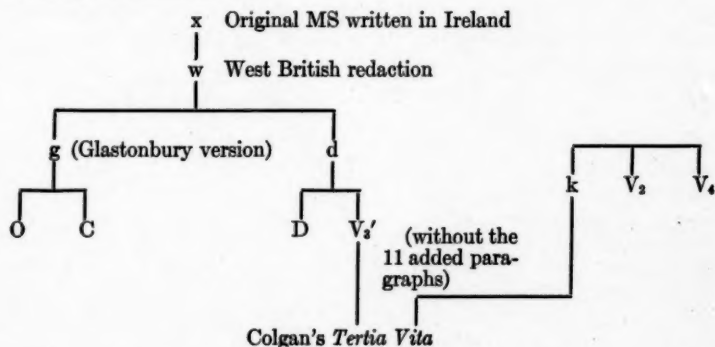
<sup>1</sup> The pattern produced by variation in treatment of detail in a summary like Leland's may be represented graphically by the accompanying diagram:



The base line represents the whole original narrative. The Roman numerals represent the successive incidents of the original; the Arabic numerals, the details selected by the summarizer. Some incidents are reproduced in detail (as X); some very briefly (as IV); some are omitted (as VI). It can be seen, therefore, that such a summary may provide two tests for the identification of the original: (1) the test by order of main incidents and (2) the test by order of details within those incidents.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. Bury, "A Life of St. Patrick (Colgan's Tertia Vita)," *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, XXXII (1903), Section C, pp. 199-262.

one of four which represent substantially the same version. The other three are found in the following manuscripts: Trinity College, Dublin, 171 (D), Cambridge Ff. 1. 27 (C), Bodleian 285 (O). O and C are twins. They are distinguished from D and  $V_3$  by textual variations and by the fact that they both contain an interpolation (not in D or  $V_3$ ) which represents Glastonbury as the place of St. Patrick's death. By comparing the texts of these two Lives, Bury is able to reconstruct the parent version (g) upon which they are based. D and  $V_3$  likewise form a pair except that to the beginning of  $V_3$  there have been attached eleven extra paragraphs from a version analogous to  $V_2V_4$  (k). Leaving these paragraphs out of account and comparing the texts of D and  $V_3$ , Bury secures the text of the version (d) upon which they depend.<sup>1</sup> Again, a comparison of the two parent versions, g and d, produces the archetype w, which is shown by linguistic and historical evidence to be a West British redaction of a document originally compiled in Ireland. The accompanying diagram illustrates the relationships established.



It is understood that the contribution of k (or of the source of k) is merely the first eleven paragraphs of  $V_3$ .

This array of variants gives us a choice between two assumptions: (1) William followed  $V_3$  throughout or (2) he followed the same method as the compiler of  $V_3$  in using as a model one of the basic versions, d or g,<sup>2</sup> and filling in details from k to pad out the rather abrupt beginning.

<sup>1</sup> Bury prints the texts of g and d at the end of his article.

<sup>2</sup> If he used either of these two versions, we should naturally assume that it was the one with the Glastonbury interpolation.

Our choice between these two assumptions will be facilitated by a close comparison of the summary with  $V_3$  and with  $k$  (as represented by  $V_2V_4$ ) plus  $g$ . We have similar material in all three versions: eleven paragraphs of  $k$  plus a variant of  $w$ . The question is, Does the summary depend upon a combination of  $k$  and  $w$  similar to that represented in  $V_3$ , or does it constitute a slightly different combination of similar elements?

In the following comparison the text of the summary is printed in full. From  $V_3$  are given only the passages which relate the same incidents as the summary. The order of events, however, is unaltered. The text of  $V_2V_4$  is not given, for since the first part of the account is related in substantially the same words in  $V_3V_3V_4$  the text of  $V_3$  is sufficiently representative of all three.

#### LELAND'S SUMMARY (S)

1. Avus eius Potitus presbyter, pater Calpurnius diaconus Romanorum morem, qui tunc temporis in Britannis potentes erant, in vocabulorum decore tenere. Mater porro Conches, filia Oemis & soror Liupida<sup>1</sup> barbariem Britan: sonant. Nec minus ipse, Succet cog: a patriæ appellationis more degenerare potuit. Natus haud procul a mari per quod in Hiberniam transmittitur. Locus exortus Banauen vicus in Taberniæ campo ex metatione tabernaculorum Romanorum, ut constans nec a vero dissimilis, fama est, tale nomen sortito.

#### COLGAN'S "TERTIA VITA" ( $V_3$ )

I. Natus est igitur Patricius in illo oppido Nempthor nomine: eratque illi soror nomine Lupita: cuius reliquiæ sunt in Ardmacha. Patricius natus est in campo Taburniæ. Campus autem tabernaculorum ob hoc dictus est eo quod in eo Romani exercitus quodam tempore tabernacula sua ibi strauerint. . . .

The foregoing passage from  $V_3$  is the beginning which the compiler borrowed from  $k$ . What we may call the genuine beginning (common to  $OCDV_3$ ) comes later at Par. XII. This second beginning supplies certain elements which are wanting in  $k$ , but the text of it as presented by  $V_3$  diverges markedly from  $S$  in the spelling of proper names. Of the other texts the one which resembles  $S$  most closely is  $g$ :

Patricius qui vocatur et Succet de genere<sup>2</sup> Britonum ortus fuit et non longe a mari nostro patria ipsius et locus in quo natus est consistit. Cuius pater

<sup>1</sup> Leland adds two glosses to this name: one interlinear (*ia*) and one marginal (*alias Lupida*).

<sup>2</sup> It looks as if "degenerare" of  $S$  might be an echo of "de genere" in  $g$ .



vocabatur Calpurnius filius Potiti presbyteri, religiososque habuerat parentes. Mater vero eius dicebatur Conches, filia Ocinis.

Comparing this passage and the two previously quoted we see that S begins with material from the opening sentence of one of the w versions (probably g) and at the word "locus" switches to the k beginning, while V<sub>3</sub> begins outright with the material from k and does not bring in the opening of the w versions until later.

2. Ostenditur lapis puerperii conscius, in quo connixa mater sobolem effudit in lucem. Magna in diem modernum accolarum circa lapidem frequentia.

3. Jam vero in sortem Christi regenerandus puerulus exhibitus est viro sancto, cui Gornias nomen.

De basilica loquens fabricata eo loco, ubi baptizatus erat S. Patritius.

Aiunt, qui viderunt, ad altaris partem dexteram fontem esse quadratum, in crucis vitreis undis perlucidum, cujus haustu nihil iucundius intuitu, nihil purius.

4. In Banauen igitur vico, qui & Nenchor,<sup>1</sup> educatus sanctiss: ut par erat, disciplina, & in ephebum, ævo crescente, proventus, non defuit.

Assistit ipse sermoni meo astipulator idoneus his verbis in confessione sua.

II. Hic autem natus est super lapidem qui adhuc honorifice habetur propter peierantes. Omnes enim peierantes iuxta se, vident illum aquam effundere, quasi flentem falsum testimonium: alias vero in natura sua stat.

III. Ille autem baptizari portatus est, ad alium sanctum a nativitate cæcum tabulata facie; cui aqua defuit. Fertur autem quod Guornias nomen erat sacerdotis Patricium baptizantis, qui de manu infantis signum crucis in terra posuit & erupit fons; & lauit faciem, & aperti sunt oculi eius: . . . Aedificata autem est ecclesia, super fontem in quo baptizatus est: ipse autem fons est iuxta altare, habens figuram crucis, ut periti aiunt.

IV. Nutritus est autem in Nempthor ille puer, crescens in bonis operibus et virtutibus quas egit Deus per illum. Namque ab ineunte ætate, gratia Dei præditus erat antequam malum nosset discernere, & viam veritatis posset indagare. Quod ille in libro Episcopo manifeste ostendit, inquires: [Here follows a quotation from the *Confession* of St. Patrick, Sec. ii.]

Here is a most interesting structural parallel. The use of the first person singular in the last sentence quoted from S shows that Leland

<sup>1</sup> Leland glosses Nenchor as Nantchor, probably a surmise on the basis of the rather common British prefix Nant-.

is giving William's own words. The phrase *his verbis* clearly indicates the presence in the original of a quotation from the *Confessio*.<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt that William was using a version of *k*. That this version, however, was not *V*, seems apparent from the form of the word *Nenchor*. This form looks very much like a misreading of *Nemthor*. With the manuscript abbreviation for the nasal the form would read *Nēthor*. The Hiberno-Saxon *t* is very easily mistaken for *c*, giving *Nēchor*, which can be transcribed as either *Nenchor* or *Nemchor*. The presence of *p* between *n/m* and *t* in the form *Nempthor* as given by *V*, would be an obstacle to such a reading.

5. Habebat sororem, ut ante dixi, Lupidam, venerabilium posthæc meritorium feminam, ejus nunc reliquiæ pausant in Ardmacha, urbe Hiber: præcipua.<sup>2</sup>

6. Cum enim Hiberniensium classis, prædæ allecta facilitate, Britanniam, more suo, adnavigasset, inter ceteros captivos & *Patritium, jam XVI<sup>m</sup> annorum adulescentulum abduxit.*<sup>3</sup>

Ipsæ certe in confessione caussam captivitate adscribit peccatis populi & suis.

7. Latruncolorum ergo præda factus *Patritius* venit in servum, trans aquilonares remotioris Hiberniæ partes distractus. Comparavit regionis illius regulus Milcu, filius Boin, pro paucorum nummorum commercio ingenuo potitus, & superbus spolio. Denique, ut splendorem natalium ejus obfuscaret, subulcum instituit.

XI. Causa hæc erat primæ peregrinationis, atque aduentus ejus in Scotiam. Scotensis exercitus classe de more conductâ, stipataque multitudine nauim; cum frequenter transnavigasset in Britanniam, multos inde ducebat captivos.

Et hoc idem solito facientibus, causus tulit, ut ipse cum sorore sua inter alios captivos deprehensus, duceretur in Scotiam, qui centum connumerato utroque sexu, erant. Eo autem in tempore *Patricius* erat annorum sexdecim ipso manifeste attestante, qui in libris suarum Epistularum ita ait.

[Then follows a quotation from the *Confessio* in which Patrick gives his age at the time of his capture and ascribes his misfortune to his own sins and those of his people.]

XII. *Patricius* igitur, qui vocabatur. . . .

[This is the *w* beginning, quoted above.]

<sup>1</sup> See also Leland's marginal note at this point: "Gul: Meld: frequenter citat librum Patritii de confessione, in quo res a se gestas, & vitam suam scripsit."

<sup>2</sup> This item, apparently in the words of William himself, is puzzling. It brings in *Lupida* very awkwardly and presents material which appeared in the first paragraph of *k(V)*. The succeeding passages may suggest a solution.

<sup>3</sup> Portions in italics appear in John of Glastonbury's *Chronicle*.



XIII. Cum autem esset puer annorum sexdecim cum cæteris raptus, ductus est in Hiberniam; et in aquilonari parte ui annis seruiuit<sup>1</sup> apud quemdam regulum gentilem, qui vocabatur Miliuc filius Buain. . . .

A glance at the foregoing passages shows that the correspondence between S and V<sub>3</sub>(k) Par. XI is very close. It cannot be mere coincidence that William and the compiler of k both introduce material from the *Confessio* at precisely the same point in the narrative. At Par. XII, however, the similarity ceases. Here V<sub>3</sub>, abandoning k, begins afresh with the opening words of w.<sup>2</sup> It then proceeds to relate the story of the capture a second time. S avoids this rather stupid repetition. After mentioning the capture once, it goes on to describe Patrick's experiences as a slave in Ireland. The w beginning which constitutes a second opening in V<sub>3</sub> Par. XII has already been used in the first paragraph. The structural divergence between V<sub>3</sub> and S may be illustrated thus:

V<sub>3</sub> k—I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X XI w—I II III, etc.  
S w—I k—I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X XI w—II III, etc.

If, therefore, we assume that William used V<sub>3</sub> as his model, we must suppose that the first thing he did was to reach over into Par. XII after the material from w for his opening sentences. What we have already seen of William's faithfulness to structural detail makes the assumption of such rearrangement very dubious. This assumption, moreover, fails to explain the curious muddle in the passage about Lupida.

Suppose we try the other assumption. Let us assume that William began to write with a version of w before him. When he reached the end of the first paragraph he found himself face to face with the inci-

<sup>1</sup> In another notice of this Life Leland says that William does not tell how long Patrick served as a slave in Ireland. (See *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis*, ed. A. Hale, Oxford, 1709, pp. 36 ff.). This omission may have been the result of William's inability to decide between the period of seven years assigned by k (V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>) and six years as given by the w versions. If so, it is additional evidence that he was using two versions instead of depending on V<sub>3</sub> throughout, for V<sub>3</sub> unquestioningly follows its source in giving six years as the length of Patrick's captivity.

<sup>2</sup> The text of this opening (as presented by g) has already been quoted.

dent of the kidnapping, which occurred when Patrick was sixteen years of age. Like the compiler of  $V_3$  he realized that it was hardly in accordance with the conventions of hagiography to dismiss the parentage, birth, and childhood of his hero with one paragraph. In another Life, analogous to  $V_3$ ,  $V_4$ , and (for the first eleven paragraphs)  $V_5$ , he found what he needed: a sister, a birthplace with an etymology attached, a list of childhood miracles, and a few quotations from the *Confessio*. This document he followed closely until he again arrived at Patrick's capture by the Irish pirates. In the passage on the capture he saw a mention of Patrick's sister. Since her name was not given, he quite naturally glanced back to Par. I to recall it. In Par. I he saw the statement, which he had previously omitted, that her relics were preserved in Armagh. Realizing the importance of such a statement in a saint's life, he dragged it into his text before proceeding with the capture. The capture finished, he returned to his original model.

The foregoing hypothesis accounts for the structural peculiarities of the Life upon which our summary is based. It is supported, furthermore, by the correspondence in proper names. In comparing these names our attention is once more attracted to  $g$ , for of all the versions deriving from  $w$  it bears the closest resemblance to  $S$ . In the table subjoined it is apparent that  $g$  and  $V_2$  combined furnish a much closer correspondence than  $V_3$ .

S	$V_2$	$g$	$V_3$	$V_4$
1. Calpurnius	Calburnius	Calpurnius	Nemthor	Kalfurnius
2. Conches	Conches	Conches		Conchessa
3. Nenchor	Nemphor			Nemthor
4. Ocnis	Dechulsi	Ocnis*	Taburne Gornias	Sucquetus
5. Succet	Suchet	Succet		Taburn
6. Taburnie	Taburnie			
7. Gornias	Guornias			
8. Milcu/ Miluc	Miluc/ Miluc	Milcu/ Miluch		
9. Boia	Buain	Boia		

\* Manuscript Ocnis and Ocnis would be very easily confused. O reads Ocnis.

If we are to proceed on the hypothesis that  $S$  represents a combination of  $w$  and  $k$  independent of  $V_2$ , we are justified in discarding  $V_2$  and selecting as a basis for further comparison one of the other derivatives of  $w$ . Of these  $g$ , by reason of the resemblance in the spelling of proper names, recommends itself most strongly for our purpose.

## LELAND'S SUMMARY

g

(Continued)

8. Ut invento thesauro Patritius se a servitute redemerit.

Ille (In margin: Miluc), metalli fulgore perstrictus oculos, simul & pondere captus, se exorabilem præbuit, & adolescentem manumissum servituti emancipavit.

9. Felicibus ergo ventis in altum provecti, post triduum continentem attingebant, &c. De erroribus Patrii per deserta loca.

Octavo ergo & xx<sup>o</sup> postquam applerat die post errores multivagos, quos devius secutus inciderat, Patrius terram habitalem vidit.

10. Sed nec longum visu lætatus est, paulo post iterum a prædonibus interceptus, & abductus.

Sexagesimus postea dies vidit Patrium ab omni captivitatis injuria exemptum.

11. Ita mag: laboribus perfunctus, tandem in patriam, tandem in domum paternam receptui cecinit.

12. *Cujus disciplinatus duobus de viginti annis non segniter insudans (Patricius) scripturarum divinarum lectione quicquid deerat plenitudine (adjecit) scientiæ.<sup>1</sup>*

XIV. Cum impleti essent vi anni in servitute, venit ad eum angelus Victor nomine . . . . dixitque ei: [Victor tells him where to find gold.] Exiit Patricius et invenit illic pondus auri, et dedit regi. Rex autem gavisus est, aurum videns, et dimisit liberum Patricium.

XVI. Patricius uero perrexit ad mare et invenit ibi navem paratam in qua erant gentiles, receperunt eum cum gaudio et nauigavit cum eis tribus diebus et noctibus, et post triduum tenuerunt terram, et xxiii diebus ambulauerunt per desertum, et cibus eis defuit, et inualuit fames.

XVII. Et iterum post hec Patricius captus est ab alienigenis, et in prima nocte qua mansit cum illis, venit ad eum Victor angelus et dixit ei: Noli contristari, quia non longo tempore in captivitate manebis cum hiis hominibus, sed duobus tantum mensibus. Quod factus est ita; nam post duos menses liberauit Dominus eum de manibus eorum.

XIX. Et exiuit Patricius ad parentes suos; videntes autem illus parentes eius gausi sunt in adventu illius. . . .

XXI. Tunc sanctus Patricius cogitavit per angelicam visionem exire ut sacras scripturas disceret, ut posset eos docere. Perrexit ergo ad regiones Gallorum, et venit ad sanctum episcopum Germanum virum sapientissimum et honoratum ab omnibus Gallis, principem Autisiodorensis

<sup>1</sup> As noted above, the italics indicate passages duplicated by John of Glastonbury. The portions in parenthesis are lacking in Hearne's edition of Leland.

13. Missus cum eo ab episcopo (interlinear gloss: Germano) Segetius presbyter spetiosiore[m] fecit com.  
....

14. *Invenit gratiam in conspectu domini Papæ. Is erat Cælestinus (a beato Petro quadragesimus quintus, anno dominicæ) incarnat. ccccxxii<sup>o</sup>. papatum ingressus. Ab eo Patritius Hiberniam (in opus euan)gelii, missus, datus est illis gentibus doctor & apostolus.*

15. Idem sane Cælestinus paulo ante Palladium quendam Hiberniam ad prædicandam miserat; ut vero autor est Beda anno domini ccccxxx<sup>o</sup>. &c. ut Palladius, pertæsus barbariei, reversus sit in Britanniam, ubi mortuus est.

Unde colligitur, Patritium eodem anno, quo Palladium, vel certe sequenti, Hiberniam missum quia non ultra novem annos Cælestinus protendit pontificatum.<sup>1</sup>

Ex 2<sup>o</sup> libro de vita Patritii.

16. De puero Hunna<sup>2</sup> nomine in Temoria, regione Hiberniæ in qua regnum erat Loëgarii, qui nullo modo

ciuitatis; et mansit apud illum xl annos legens et implens diuinas scripturas.

XXII. Patrick's visit to St. Martin.

XXII. Transactis ibi xl annis uoluit Patricius invisere Romam capud uidelicet omnium ecclesiarum. . . . Misitque sanctus Germanus seniore[m] cum illo Segitimum presbyterum, ut testem haberet ydoneum.

XXV. Cum autem Patricius Romam ingressus esset, inuenit gloriam et honorem apud Celestinum qui erat papa urbis Rome quadragesimus quintus a Petro apostolo.

[The pope then bids Patrick go to Ireland, but Patrick replies that he must go and greet God first. He goes to Mt. Armon for a time.]

Tunc papa Celestinus misit Patricium ad hanc insulam.

XXVI. Nam iste Celestinus alium prædicatorem nomine Palladium misit ante Patricium ad hanc insulam, sed habitatores huius insulæ non susceperunt eius doctrinam; quia non illi donauit Dominus istam insulam sed sancto Patricio reseruauit eam. Palladius uero reuersus est ab hac insula, ut iret Romam, sed ille mortuus est in regione Britonum.

XXXVI. Tunc Patricius uoluit uenire ad regum magnum Loegaire qui habitabat in Temoria Breg ut

<sup>1</sup> Here Leland inserts a passage from the *Confessio*. It is based ultimately on Par. 52 of that document (White, *Libri S. Pat.*, pp. 250-51), but since it contains variations not represented in any extant manuscript, it must be assigned to an intermediate source.

<sup>2</sup> The name Hunna seems to be peculiar to S. The Beonna of John's text may be due to the Glastonbury tradition of an epitaph containing the name Beonna which was supposed to commemorate Benignus. See *De antiquitate*, p. 46.

a Patritio abesse voluit. *Eum & dignatus est lecto, & insignivit Benigni vocabulo. Jussit ergo baptizatum in currum suum levare, pronuntians illum futurum heredem regni sui.* (In

the part which precedes the passage in italics—duplicated by John of Glastonbury—Leland has condensed very decidedly. John's treatment of the same passage is more detailed: Venerabilis pontifex Sanctus Patricius de quo superius est sermo, prædicando circuiret regiones Hibernicas, pervenit in campum, qui dicitur Brei, spacio famosum & specie. Cujus pulcritudo animum pontificis illexerat, ut ibi percelebraret Pascha, quod tunc instabat. Prima illi in ea provincia hospitalitatis necessitudo cum quodam viro fuit, qui continuo divinæ prædicationi credulam aurem apponens, baptismi sacramento alteratus in novum hominem. Cujus filius, Beonna nomine, ætatis admodum delicatæ, alludens episcopo, blando amplexu pedem eius suo astringebat pectori nonnunquam osculabundus. Euntē quoque ad corporis pausam lacrimis proscutus, non nisi cum eo se velle dormire clamitabat. Quapropter Patricius, perspicaci propheciæ intendens oculo, quanta virtutum indoles per Dei gratiam puero esset accessura. . . .) [Then follows the passage parallel to Leland's summary, as given in italics above.]

17. Unus erat id temporis ex Britannorum regibus, dubium an adhuc paganus, certe ferocitate deterrimus, nomine Cereticus. Is animum sancti multis conficiebat angoribus hac, quæ sequitur, caussa. Crebris enim, ut supra dixi, conflictibus Britanni &

magnam sollempnitatem pasce que prope erat in illo campo præclaro celebraret.

[The narrative then describes the journey to Ulster.]

Ascendit de naui et uenit uespere ad quendam uirum bonum et baptizauit illum, et inuenit cum eo filium qui sibi placuit. Et Patricius dedit illi nomen Benignum; et puer ille suis manibus pedes Patricii ad suum pectus colligabat et noluit dormire cum patre suo uel matre, sed flebat nisi cum Patricio dormiret. Mane autem facto cum Patricius currum ascenderet, ut unum pedem in currum eleuato, altero uero stante in terra, tenuit Benignus puer pedem Patricii strictis manibus et dixit: Dimitte me apud Patricium patrem meum proprium. Et dixit Patricius: Baptizate eum et eleuate in currum quoniam heres regni mei est.

LXXII. Nunciata sunt sancto Patricio mala opera cuiusdam regis Brittonum Ceretic, crudelis et inimitis tyranni. Cogitabat autem Patricius et conuerteret illum ad uiam ueritatis. Hic Ceritic namque erat persecutor et interfectu (sic) christi-

Scotti summa vi utrinque decertabant, & ut sunt incerta bellorum, modo illius, modo his vincentibus, prædæ insignes agebantur. Hinc fiebat, ut Hibern: captivi, qui cecidissent in sortem Ceretici, miseris ex-cruciati modis, anticiparent mortem suppliciiis. Hanc cum in omnes exerceret carnificium, tum maxime in eos, quos Patricius baptizasset, totam fatigabat sævitiam, sæpius infrendens, quod homo Britannus Britan-norum inimicis prædicaret verba salutis, &c. Ut Patritius Cereticum tantæ crudelitatis admonuerit.

anorum. Misitque ad eum Patricius epistolam, sed rex ille deridebat doctrinam Patricii. Cum hec nunciarentur Patricio, orauit ad Dominum et dixit. . . .

In incidents 16 and 17 we have excellent examples of William's procedure. In both there is good reason to believe that we have, to a large extent at least, the author's own words, for the Benignus episode (16) quoted from John of Glastonbury is phrased in language far superior to John's and leads directly into a passage common to John and Leland, and the Coroticus incident as given by Leland contains the first person singular. When we examine the facts related we see that all William has done is to retell the story in more high-flown style. For example, the foregoing passage from S, long as it is, leaves off at the sending of the letter. It is therefore merely an expansion of the first two sentences of Par. LXXII in g.

18. De Magulio quodam potenti homine Hiberniæ, ad fidem converso prædicatione & miraculis Patritii.

Magulius autem, involucris mundi expeditus, ad mare contendit. Ibi, ut iussum erat navi conscensa, regente obedientia, cui parebat, felicibus auris in Mevaniam insulam evectus, duos episcopos, assidentes littori, miraculo sui percudit.

Qui mirati simul & miserati hominem marinis jactatum periculis, simul & compeditum, de profundo

LXXIII. Erat quidam homo in regionibus Ulath, nomine Maguil; hic homo erat gentilis et crudelis tyrannus.

[Patrick outwits his druids and converts him. He wishes to do penance and Patrick says the judgment shall be left to God. He tells him to shackle his feet together, throw the key into the sea, and entrust himself to the waves in a small boat without oars or rudder.]

. . . . in illa die migravit Maguil ad mare et ascendit in nauem, et flatu uenti portauit eum ad insulam



levatum asciscunt, mensæ participant hospitio, ubi & eorum charitate confotus, & dei gratia adjutus, ita in bonum brevi convaluit, ut non solus divinitus expeditus (Interlinear gloss: a compedibus), sed & episcopus factus, religiosam sui memoriam usque hodie insulani reliquerit.

20. Rex Britonum, Munessam nomine, filiam unicam cui ætatis maturitas, & spetiositas formæ suffragabatur, nuptum dare volebat, &c. Ut illa nullis minis adduci potuerit ad nuptias, quamvis adhuc pagana, utque parentes. Patricium de hac re consuluerint, qui statim puellam baptizavit. Quo facto paulo post obiit virgo.

21. De talibus quippe (signis & miraculis) sexaginta sex libros compexit antiquitas, sicut ea exercebat per singulas regiones.

Finis 2<sup>i</sup> libri.

William's closing words as quoted by Leland are as follows: *Nunc ad ejus in patriam gratiosum reditum, & ad coelum gloriosum transitum, dirigam mentem et stilum*. Leland goes on to say<sup>1</sup> that he has never found the third book. He found two manuscripts of the work at Glastonbury, but these, like the one at Christchurch, were incomplete. The only direct information we have concerning the third book, therefore, is the hint contained in William's one sentence. It is worth noting, however, that Book II breaks off with Par. LXXXVII and that

Mannan. Et inuenit ibi duos sanctos episcopos. Qui uidentes uirum huius habitus mirati sunt et<sup>1</sup> miserti sunt illius. Eleuaueruntque eum de mari cum gaudio et mansit ibi cum illis et accepit postea gradum episcopalem, et in illis regionibus habetur magna ciuitas Maguil episcopi usque hodie.

LXXXVIII. Erat autem rex quidam gentilis Britonum et habuit filiam Munessan nomine, et ille voluit eam dare uiro, sed filia noluit. Licet enim gentilis fuisset, tamen per legem nature sue cognouit Deum et illum dilexit. . . . Et neque a parentibus neque a magis, neque minis neque uerberibus, mens eius potuit commouere ab amore Dei. Tunc parentes eius audentes fama sancti Patricii uenerunt ad eum cum filia sua. . . . Tunc Patricius dixit ad eum (Sic): Si credis in deum? Et ait: Credo. Et statim accipiens baptismum, tradidit animam suam in manus angelorum.

LXXXVII. Nam omnes libri qui de virtutibus Patricii scripti sunt lxvi.<sup>2</sup> numero computantur. Cotidie namque non cessabat in omnibus locis et provinciis curare cecos et mutos. . . .

<sup>1</sup> V, omits *mirati sunt et*.

<sup>2</sup> V: *sexaginta*.

<sup>3</sup> *Collectanea*, III, 275-76.

Par. LXXXVIII is the one that contains the Glastonbury interpolation. Since in g there are only seven more paragraphs, it looks as if William intended to fill up the third book with material connecting St. Patrick with Glastonbury.<sup>1</sup>

On the basis of the foregoing comparison it seems justifiable to conclude that William constructed his Life of St. Patrick as follows: He began with g before him as a model. Finding it somewhat abrupt at the beginning, he padded it out with material from k. He also introduced certain modifications in chronology, probably to make it coincide with Glastonbury tradition.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise he followed his sources very closely in fact and structure, merely rewording the narrative in more sophisticated style.<sup>3</sup> The absence of any conscientious attempt at rearrangement of material or discrimination between facts marks this Life as a piece of purely routine work.

This information brings us a little closer to an understanding of the part played by William in the Glastonbury advertising campaign; it also shows that one of the features of this campaign was the use of Irish documents.

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<sup>1</sup> It may be that the compiling of this third book out of scattered materials without the assistance of an exemplar required more time than William had at his disposal and that the project was abandoned. Still it is hard to understand why three copies should be made of an unfinished Life. Leland (*loc. cit.*) suggests the possibility of mutilation.

<sup>2</sup> According to S, Patrick studied only eighteen years with Germanus, while g gives forty. John of Glastonbury retains this figure for the period of study. S gives 431 or 432 as the date of Patrick's departure for Ireland, g does not give the date at all, and John gives 425. A short sketch of Patrick's life in the *De ant.* also gives 425. Patrick's age and the date of his death are not stated in S, but the *De ant.* sketch (pp. 22-23) gives the death date as 472 and the age as 111. John has the same date, but in g the age appears as 132 years. In the Capgrave version (*Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. C. Horstmann, Oxford [1901], pp. 279 ff.), which presents many parallels to g, the age is given as 130 years, but in an appendix to this Life made up of material found at Glastonbury, the whole chronology of the *De ant.* sketch is taken over bodily.

<sup>3</sup> The only ponderable items which cannot be traced to either of the two sources mentioned are the name Bannauen and a quotation from the *Confessio*. Since Bannauen occurs in the *Confessio*, the presence of the name and the quotation in S might lead us to conclude that William had access to the writings of St. Patrick. The fact is, however, that the quotation has no discernible relation to the context and differs markedly from all known versions of the *Confessio*, and that Bannauen appears in various other documents such as the commentaries of Muirchu and its derivatives. We are hardly justified, therefore, in assuming that William used any other Patrician documents than the ones specified.



## LE MAL SAINT LEU

In the *Gargantua*<sup>1</sup> of Rabelais we have a very curious passage which has already attracted the attention of commentators. It is here a question of saints "producteurs de maladies." Grandgousier converses with a number of pilgrims upon their return from the shrine of St. Sebastien near Nantes and asks them what their purpose has been in going there:

Nous allions, dist Lasdaller [their spokesman], luy offrir nos votes contre la peste.—O, dist Grandgousier, pauvres gens, estimez vous que la peste vienne de Saint Sebastien?—Ouy vraiment, respondit Lasdaller, nos prescheurs nous l'affirment.—Ouy, dist Grandgousier, les faulx prophetes vous annoncent ilz telz abus? Blasphement ilz en ceste façon les justes et saintes de Dieu, qu'ilz les font semblables aux diables, qui ne font que mal entre les humains, comme Homère escrit que la peste fut mise en l'ost des Gregoys par Apollo, et comme les poètes feignent un grand tas de Vejoves et dieux malfaisans? Ainsi preschoit à Sinays<sup>2</sup> un caphart, que saint Antoine mettoit le feu es jambes; saint Eutrope faisoit les hydropiques; saint Gildas, les fols; saint Genou les gouttes. Mais je le punis en tel exemple, quoique il m'appelast heretique, que depuis ce temps caphart quiconque n'est osé entrer en mes terres. Et m'esbahis si vostre roy les laisse prescher par son royaume telz scandales. Car plus sont à punir que ceux qui, par art magique ou aultre engin, auroient mis la peste par le pays. La peste ne tue que le corps, mais telz imposteurs empoisonnent les ames.

That Rabelais, following his usual custom, is here alluding to an actual state of affairs seems certain. It has been shown<sup>3</sup> that both Calvin and Henri Estienne, contemporaries of Rabelais and Protestants, criticize these same beliefs and doctrines. M. Folet, in the article just alluded to, writes:

Il est certain que, dès les premiers temps de la Réforme, les abus et les superstitions que les novateurs affirmaient s'être glissés dans le culte des saints, et particulièrement l'attribution des maladies à tels ou tels saints (guérisseurs ou producteurs) fut en France un des griefs originels du protestantisme, autant que l'avait été en Allemagne le trafic des indulgences.

<sup>1</sup> Book I, chap. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Cinais, near La Devinière where Rabelais lived.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes*, IV (1906), 199 f.

Even today the belief that certain saints can impose certain diseases persists in several regions of France. In Rouergue St. Jean de Laur "en veut aux rachitiques." In Normandy at Rouen "les statues de Saint Siméon et de Saint Hilaire portent aux poignets des liasses de rubans de percale, humbles offrandes de bonnes femmes qui croient que leurs enfants malades sont 'tenus' de ces saints et qui espèrent obtenir ainsi leur guérison."<sup>1</sup>

A medieval legend of St. Leu, which we shall treat in this article, will, we believe, show clearly that the doctrine of saints "producteurs de maladies" was preached several centuries at least before Rabelais' time. This legend will also possibly shed some light on the origin of the term *mal saint Leu* and other *maux* bearing names of saints which are of such frequent occurrence in medieval French and Latin texts.

The association of the names of saints with certain diseases in the Middle Ages is often difficult to understand. Such expressions as *mal saint Fiacre*, *mal saint Valentin*, etc., belong to the popular vocabulary and are seldom employed by technical writers or found in medieval surgical or medical treatises.<sup>2</sup> Some diseases appear to have taken the names of saints who were supposed to have suffered them, for example: leprosy, *mal saint Ladre*; hemorrhage, *mal sainte Tanche*; fever, *mal saint Rigobert*. Others seem to have been associated with certain saints because of apparent similarity of name: *mal saint Aurélian*, *mal des oreilles*; *mal saint René*, *mal de reins*; *mal saint Dodon*, *maladies de dos*. Most frequently, however, the reasons why special saints were invoked in the case of particular diseases are not clear.<sup>3</sup> Legends of popular origin explaining the circumstances have not been recorded and have, in course of time, been forgotten.

St. Leu (or Loup), archbishop of Sens (died A.D. 623), has been invoked for relief from several ailments: epilepsy, paralysis, convulsions, toothache and children's diseases, dysentery, etc. His connection with some of these maladies dates from the period immediately following his death when miracles of healing were accomplished at

<sup>1</sup> Rabelais, *Œuvres*, ed. Lefranc, Paris, 1912 and after, II, chap. xlv, p. 365, n. 16. Cf. also a delightful article on Normandy by Colette Yver, in which she mentions these rustic beliefs. *Revue Hebdomadaire*, June, 1911, pp. 193 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ed. Faral. "Des Vilains ou des XXII manières de Vilains," in *Romania*, XLVIII (1922), p. 256, n. 3, and p. 259, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. Franklin. *La Vie privée d'autrefois*, Vol. XI, *Les médecins*, Paris, 1892, pp. 220-53. A glance at the long list of *maux* associated with names of saints, shows that only a very small number of such *rapprochements* have been explained.

his tomb. Thus we read in an early Latin life of the saint<sup>1</sup> that paralysis, toothache, and broken limbs were miraculously remedied about his sepulchre. This is one of the reasons for the great esteem in which relics of St. Leu have been held through the ages and for the large number of churches and shrines which have been dedicated to him, not only in all parts of France, but even in Spain and Italy.

Of occasional occurrence in medieval texts is a malady called vaguely *mal saint Leu*, but which seems to have signified pretty clearly epilepsy or *le mal caduc*.<sup>2</sup> How did this disease become associated with the name of the saint? There is no reference to epilepsy in the early Latin life of St. Leu to which we have alluded, and which is the source of practically all the data regarding the saint to be found in the innumerable hagiographies, ancient and modern. Medieval writers who have dealt with St. Leu, such as Vincent de Beauvais,<sup>3</sup> Jacques de Voragine,<sup>4</sup> and the author of a thirteenth-century life of the saint in German verse,<sup>5</sup> are mute on the subject and the medieval iconography offers no explanation.

In 1906, Paul Meyer, in Volume XXXIII of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (p. 361) called attention to an Old French life of St. Leu in verse, preserved in two manuscripts<sup>6</sup> at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. This life dates in all probability from the fourteenth century, is unpublished, and as far as we know, has never been studied or commented upon. Its author appears to have been a pious man, probably an ecclesiastic, who had little aptitude for composing verse and only a confused knowledge of church history. The poem is written in quatrains of Alexandrines, *rimes plates*, and is continually defective in verse structure and rhyme. The consecrated details of the life of St. Leu are here given in summary fashion, but in this poem we note several events or legends which we believe are not found attributed to St. Leu before this fourteenth-century composition.

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sanctorum, Die Prima Septembris*, I, 248 f. *De Sancto Lupo*. The life was written within a short time after the death of Saint Leu.

<sup>2</sup> A reference given by Du Cange from a fourteenth-century document makes this clear (under *morbis*): *morbis S. Lupi, morbum beati Lupi, seu aliter caducum, sustinere saepius dicebatur*.

<sup>3</sup> *Spec. hist.*, XXIV, 9-10.

<sup>4</sup> *Legenda Aurea*.

<sup>5</sup> See *Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Literatur von der ältesten bis auf die neuere Zeit*, Vol. XXXII: *Das Passional, eine legenden-sammlung des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Fr. Karl Köpke, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1852, No. 52, pp. 457-60.

<sup>6</sup> MS Bib. Nat., *fonds français* 1555, vellum, fourteenth century, folio 130 f.; MS Bib. Nat., *fonds français*, 1809, paper, fifteenth century, folio 89 f.

In the first place we find here the well-known legend<sup>1</sup> of the ring cast into the water, swallowed by a fish, and later recovered in its belly. St. Leu passing out of Sens into exile while crossing the bridge over the Yonne, throws his ring into the river. It is only seven years later, when he is presented with this ring (which had been found in a fish served at a banquet of the elders of Sens) that he consents to return to the city from the region of Beauvais where he had lived as a hermit. This story is taken up by modern biographers<sup>2</sup> of St. Leu, but the only other evidence of its attribution to the saint in the Middle Ages is to be seen in the representation of the episode in a beautiful stained glass window still preserved in the Church of St. Aspais in Melun (Seine et Marne), which the corporation of the butchers dedicated to him in 1517.<sup>3</sup>

The second special feature of this Old French life of St. Leu is of greater interest to us. St. Leu, archbishop of Sens (we here summarize the document), was suspected of too great intimacy with a young woman of his diocese, named Colombe.<sup>4</sup> He became so bitter as a result of these unjust suspicions and calumnies that he finally decided to exile himself from Sens, but before setting out he<sup>5</sup>

61 Requist a Dieu que toute la lignee  
Qui blasmé l'ont a tort, fut IX fois tourmentee  
Chascun jour du hault mal<sup>6</sup>; Dieu qui sout sa pensee,  
Volt oïr sa requeste tantost sans demourée.

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated legend of the ring of Polycrates (Herodotus, II. 41; Pilny *N.H.* 38, 1). It has been introduced into other saints' lives: St. Arnould, St. Kentigern, St. Maurille, St. Grat. The story is also recounted in various medieval Latin *exempla*. The presence in certain coats of arms, of fish with rings in their mouths, also attests the popularity of the legend which is generally considered to be of oriental origin.

<sup>2</sup> For example: Giry F., *Les Vies des Saints dont on fait l'office dans le cours de l'année*, Paris, 1715, and Moreri, *Dictionnaire Historique*, Paris, 1759.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie, Sciences, Lettres, et Arts du Département de Seine et Marne*, Meaux, 1867, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> The author of the poem has made the martyr Ste. Colombe who died at Sens toward the end of the third century A.D. a contemporary of St. Leu (died A.D. 623). The young woman's name is given in the Latin life as Verosa.

<sup>5</sup> The passages are taken without retouch from MS Bib. Nat., *fonds français*, 1555 (fourteenth c.) which we shall designate as A. The variants of the fifteenth century version occasionally seem better. We shall refer to the latter MS as B and note important variants in the footnotes. (B 61) *Fist a Dieu grant requeste que toute l.l. 63 ... D. qui saict la p. 64 Va ouyr sa r. tot et s.d.*

<sup>6</sup> Epilepsy (*hault mal*) is also called in various texts (cf. Godefroy under *mal* and *maladie*) *le beau mal*, *le grand mal*, *le mal sacré*, *grant maladie*, *grosse maladie*, *maladie obscure*. (B 164) *Cheurent du fort mal doncq sont fors enteschés*. This seems to be a better reading as 164 A and 184 A are identical. The latter is assured by 184 B. (B 184) *Sy f. du hault mal ... 185 Q. l.p. vist destordre at d. 187 D.a. J.C. s'arme et fist tous a. B 193 ... pensient ... 194 ... de celle m. 195 S.L. en print p. ... 198 ... merci car bien ... 199 ... qu'il eust volluntiers les absolust. B 219 De m.m.ou qu'il soyent s'il prengne en gré. B 246 ... tres bonne et douce gent 248 Que D. s'il luy a donnez ... 249 ... et lleuve. ...*

*B 250 ... jour tout droict de septembre et la feste 252 Sy priens le corps saintz qui menast. ...*

During his absence, the inhabitants of Sens suffered famine, fatigue, poverty;

- 163 Mez lez faus medisans par qui fu eslongné  
Sy furent de son mal devant tous tormenté.

Upon the return of St. Leu to Sens after seven years of exile,

- 183 Mez tous ceulx par qui il fu diffamé,  
Sy furent de son mal devant tous tourmentés.  
Quant le proudomme lez vit descendre et demener  
Du hault mal dont Dieu nous veuille tous garder,  
Des armes Jesus Christ s'arma et fist armer.  
La messe au grant autel ala pour eux chanter.

- 193 Mes tous ceulx du lignage qui penserent a folie,  
Furent fort tormentés de la grief maladie.  
Saint Leu en out pitié; a Dieu de bon cuer prie  
Que il les aleiast par sa grant courtoisie.  
Quant furent redrechies, devant lui sont venus  
Pour lui crier merci, bien y furent tenus,  
De tel pover que il out, lez a asollus.

St. Leu then prayed that the famine and misery might disappear from the land and his prayers were at once granted. Then he besought God to grant relief to all who, in the future, might be afflicted with what he called *mon mal*:

- 217 Encore vous requier, par saincte Trinité,  
Que toutes creatures qui seront tourmenté  
De mon mal en quelconque lieu que eulx soient, ce eulx le  
prengnent a gré,  
Que en l'autre ciecle soient leur pechié pardonné.

An angel then came down to announce that all of his prayers had been granted by the grace of God and the poet concludes:

- 246 Et pour ce doit on garder, trez douce gent,  
De pariurer saint Leu a son droit essient,  
Quer Dieu lui donna le don tout communement  
Quer il abast et relieue a son vouloir la gent.  
Le premier jour de septembre est tout droit la feste  
De Monseigneur saint Leu qui reclamé doit estre.  
Si prion le bon saint qui mena vie honneste,  
253 Qui nous gart de son mal, de foudre, et de tempeste. Amen.

It is evident from the last passage quoted that the situation is about the same as that alluded to by Rabelais. The fourteenth-century poem is in the form of a sermon to be preached, probably on

the first of September, the day still set aside on the church calendar for the adoration of St. Leu. The "prescheur" speaks of the saint as one who can inflict and cure epilepsy and urges the people to pray to him to preserve them from *son mal*. We do not think it likely that the author fabricated out of whole cloth these details of the association of the malady with St. Leu any more than he invented the story of the bishop's ring. More probable it seems that he has utilized a popular tradition which may have been responsible for the origin of the expression *mal saint Leu*<sup>1</sup> (*morbus S. Lupi*), one of those legends which in the case of the association of saints' names with diseases, have long since been forgotten. It does not seem to us to be sufficient to say<sup>2</sup> merely that saints to whom the power of curing a disease was attributed, naturally in course of time, came to be considered as having the supernatural gift of inflicting that disease. It is obviously more logical to suppose that some saints, as in the legend of St. Leu, were credited first with the power of causing the malady and then were invoked to effect its cure. Upon the evidence of this legend, is it going too far to suppose that the association of certain saints' names with maladies grew out of the popular belief that such saints (for reasons in most cases now obscure) were responsible for them and needed to be appeased to bring relief? Does not the legend of St. Leu appear to indicate that such pagan beliefs as are mentioned in the *Gargantua* had their origins back in the Middle Ages<sup>3</sup> at least two centuries before the time of Rabelais?

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<sup>1</sup> All of the examples of *mal saint Leu* and *morbus S. Lupi* which we have collected appear in texts of the fourteenth century or later.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rabelais, *Œuvres*, ed. Lefranc, Paris, 1912 and after, II, chap. xiv, p. 365, n. 16: De la croyance à l'intercession des saints pour la guérison des malades a procédé naturellement la superstition qui prête aux saints la faculté d'infirmer aux hommes les maladies que ces mêmes saints ont le don de guérir.

<sup>3</sup> The vengeance carried out by certain saints upon those who offended them is frequently mentioned in medieval books. Some of the miracles of the Virgin are of this sort. Many punishments were meted out by St. Martin, as reported by Gregory of Tours. Cf. *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes*, 1906 (IV), 212 f. In this connection such common imprecations as "que le feu saint Antoine te arde" are interesting.



## CALDERÓN'S *ASTRÓLOGO FINGIDO* IN FRANCE

Ticknor,<sup>1</sup> G. Reynier,<sup>2</sup> Martinenche,<sup>3</sup> H. Breymann,<sup>4</sup> and Fitzmaurice-Kelly<sup>5</sup> are agreed that Thomas Corneille borrowed the plot of his *Feint Astrologue* from Calderón's *Astrólogo Fingido*.<sup>6</sup>

The two comedies,<sup>7</sup> indeed, do not differ much in the essentials. The divergences of Corneille's piece from that of Calderón concern rather the details and the atmosphere of the comedy than the plot itself. And yet, the *Feint Astrologue* is not a mere translation: "Thomas Corneille y montre parfois plus de simplicité dans l'intrigue et une couleur plus française," says Martinenche; according to Breymann, it is "eine freie Nachahmung des spanischen Stückes."

In reality, Thomas Corneille's version came very near the character comedy. He enriched the plot with psychological elements: His hero feels scruples at his own mischievousness; he is not simply a revengeful lover whose sole aim is to wreak his anger on the lady who had slighted him. Only his pity for the unfortunate chambermaid who would be punished for having betrayed her mistress' secret prevents him from gladly giving up the masquerade. Calderón's Diego became Don Juan's brother in Corneille's *Astrologue*; he lost all his Spanish grandeur and flowery rhetoric, and even his servant is astonished at the constancy with which his fickle master loves for once. An important feature is that from the fourth act on he tries to appease the strife and turmoil that his trickery had stirred up. He repents of his misdeeds, and helps the lovers to obtain the consent of the girl's father. And as if anticipating the nature of the heroes of Molière, he

<sup>1</sup> *History of Spanish Literature*, III, 382, 412.

<sup>2</sup> *Th. Corneille, sa Vie et son Théâtre* (Hachette, 1892), p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> *La Comédie espagnole en France de Hardy à Racine* (Hachette, 1900), p. 344, reviewed by A. L. Stiefel in *Z. f. frs. Spr. u. Lit.*, 1904.

<sup>4</sup> *Calderón-Studien*, I (Berlin, 1905), 134; cf. A. L. Stiefel's reviews in *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 1906, and in *Z. f. rom. Phil.*, 1906.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Spanish Literature* (1922), p. 332.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Corneille, *Poèmes Dramatiques* (Paris, 1706), Vol. I; *Las Comedias de D. Pedro Calderon de la Barca* (Leipzig: Kell, 1827), Vol. I.

<sup>7</sup> For a synopsis of Calderón's *Astrólogo*, cf. A. Schaeffer, *Gesch. des spanischen Nationaldramas* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1890), II, 51.

does not entirely break with astrology as does the Diego of Calderón; he will keep on playing the farce for the fun's sake.

The comic element is stressed more in Corneille's comedy. The rascality of the servants is more pronounced: Philipin, Fernand's valet, is a worthy rival of Scapin. Béatrix, the maid of Lucrèce, whose indiscretion caused the whole imbroglio, does not so easily betray her mistress as does the Beatriz of Calderón. All the servants in Corneille's piece are mortally afraid of the astrological perspicacity of Fernand. Jacinte covers her face with her hands lest her true character be bared to him; Mendoce confesses to Philipin that he had stolen from his master.

Léonor, who is in love with the rival of Fernand, refuses to tell the astrologer the purpose of her visit: She thinks it would be useless, as he, by virtue of his magic art, already has knowledge of it without further information. The astrological jumble of Fernand is missing also in Calderón's piece. Fernand pretends to be a disciple of the great Nostradamus, while Diego had been the pupil of an Italian astrologer. The terror of Léonor and her maid at the apparition of Juan is highly comical in Corneille's version; all the details—the upsetting of the lamp, Jacinte's hiding under the table—are not found in Calderón.

One is likely to agree with Martinenche that the *Feint Astrologue* is not merely *une traduction facile et naturelle*. Unfortunately, however, this is not due to the genius of Thomas Corneille. All the quoted authors failed to mention the fact that Corneille did not take the plot immediately from Calderón, but combined it with a version of Mlle de Scudéry. She had related the "Aventures du Marquis François" in her *Ibrahim ou l'Illustre Bassa* (1641)<sup>1</sup> seven years before the comedy of Corneille. All the deviations of Corneille's version from Calderón's *Astrologo* are found in this episode of the *Ibrahim*, so strangely different from the later manner of *Sapho*. The *couleur française* with which Martinenche credits Corneille must be ascribed to Mlle de Scudéry: She changed the Diego of Calderón into a French nobleman, witty, whimsical, and inconsistent. The French marquis, anonymous in Scudéry, is exactly the same character as Corneille's Fernand. The

<sup>1</sup> Second book of the second part, and not sixth book of the first part as H. Koerting quotes it in *Gesch. des frz. Romans*, I (1885), 406.



names have been changed and the place of the plot has been transferred to Genoa, the city of Justinian and Isabelle. For this reason Fernand studied astrology under Nostradamus in France, like the French marquis, while Diego learned this art from an Italian astrologer, and thus the entire comedy received a thoroughly French atmosphere.

In the preliminary epistle to his comedy<sup>1</sup> Corneille himself hinted at this fact by admitting that he followed Scudéry's version in one episode:

Je ne l'aurois pas hazardé avec tant de confiance, si je n'avois eû pour moi l'exemple d'un de nos plus illustres Auteurs, qui ayant accomodé le sujet de cette agréable comédie dans son Illustre Bassa, aux Galanteries du Marquis François, n' a pas dédaigné d'y employer la fourbe d'un Valet. ...

Much stronger is the statement which we find in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*:

... Cette Nouvelle [of Scudéry] eut un grand succès. Th. Corneille a fait une comédie de la partie qui plairait le moins aujourd' hui, & qui avait plu davantage parce qu'il y avait encore des gens infatués de l'Astrologie judiciaire. Cette pièce, intitulée le Feint Astrologue, réussit beaucoup.<sup>2</sup>

Astrology was a frequent and favorite subject matter of the Italian *novella*.<sup>3</sup> It is not impossible that both Scudéry and Calderón followed some Italian novelist.<sup>4</sup> Scudéry's version, however, so closely agrees with that of Calderón that it seems unnecessary to advance this hypothesis—the filiation from Calderón to Corneille through *Ibrahim* is evident.

The proud declaration of the *Bibliothèque des Romans* is, however, not wholly justified. Even in the eighteenth century, astrology was

<sup>1</sup> It was omitted in the later editions of Corneille's works. The Parfait brothers quote it in Vol. VII of their *Histoire du Théâtre françois* (1746), pp. 212-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, II (January, 1777), 120.

<sup>3</sup> For example, *Cento novelle antiche XXXVIII*, Ortensio Lando (*L'asino astrologo*), Anton Francesco Doni (*Gli astrologi e i passi*), F. Sacchetti (*L'astrologo confuso*); cf. also G. B. Porta's *Astrologo*. For the popularity of this subject matter cf. Giambattista Marchesi, *Per la Storia della Novella italiana nel sec. XVII* (Roma: Loescher, 1897), p. 5; and R. Warwick Bond, *Early Plays from the Italian* (Oxford, 1911), pp. xxxi-xxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> Carlo Costanzo Costa's *Astrologo non astrologo* (Genova, 1665) is an imitation of Calderón's *comedia*, and not a novel as A. Albertazzi presumed in his *Romansieri e Romanzo del cinquecento e seicento* (Bologna: Zanchelli, 1891), p. 221. Cf. *Bibliotheca Approsiana* (Hamburg, 1734), p. 209; Quadrio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia*, III (Bologna e Milano, 1739-52), 106; VII, 225, and Stiefel's quoted reviews of Breymann's *Cald.-Studien*.

used as a motive on the stage by no less a man than Voltaire. In his comedy, *Les Originaux* (1732),<sup>1</sup> the Chevalier du Hasard pays a nocturnal visit to a young lady.<sup>2</sup> When surprised by her father, a maniac astrologer, he pretends to be an astrologer also, and thus he succeeds in ingratiating himself with the old man. It goes without saying that Voltaire presented astrology in a farcical way: The chevalier does not fail to pay astrological compliments to his sweetheart. *Mutatis mutandis*, this situation is analogous to the scene where Fernand and Lucrèce are surprised by Léonard, father of Lucrèce (*jornada segunda* in Calderón; II, 3, in Corneille). Doubtless, the scene is a reminiscence of Corneille's comedy, and thus it is highly probable that Voltaire was influenced by this "most extravagant and absurd madman,"<sup>3</sup> as he styled Calderón, of course, through Corneille's *Astrologue*.

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<sup>1</sup> For a synopsis of this comedy cf. P. Holzhausen, "Die Lustspiele Voltaires," *Zschr. f. nfrz. Spr. u. Litt.*, Vol. IX, Suppl. 4, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* (ed., Beuchot), II, 398 ss.

<sup>3</sup> Alfonso de Savio, *Voltaire and Spain, Hispania* (May, 1924), p. 161.

## THE CRITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SPENSERIAN STANZA

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It is a mark of genius, in an age led astray by classic tradition, that Edmund Spenser, despite his strong critical bias and membership in a group pledged to the fallacy, should resist the learned lure of Latin measures. So strong was this lure, it is essential, as a foreword to the discussion of the poet's choice of a medium and the creation of his stanza, to summarize briefly the struggle that went on in the Renaissance between the adherents of quantitative verse and the creators of the new vernacular literatures.

### I

The establishment of classic meters in the vernacular was a stock problem of the Renaissance. The example of the Romans formed a strong argument. By labor and usage they had reduced their uncouth language to the laws of Greek metric, and had created a literature which, in the eyes of the Renaissance, excelled that of their masters. The inference was clear.

The Italians, having, as they did, the peculiar advantage of possessing, prior to the complete recrudescence of the classics, three writers of genius—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio—and a well-developed literature in the vernacular, came armed to the struggle. Nevertheless, the beauty and dignity of classic measures exercised a powerful influence upon them. Under the patronage of Lionello d'Este and the teaching of the elder Guarino, Ferrara became a center of Latin culture. Here Carducci tells us, "*tutti amavano, odiavano, peccavano, sognavano in latino.*"<sup>1</sup> Here, too, Ariosto later made the first essays of his genius, in Latin. Throughout Italy the writings of the Strozzi, Pontano, Bembo, and Poliziano lent dignity and elegance to modern Latin measures. It was natural that both poets and critics should endeavor to transfer the admired forms to their own language.

<sup>1</sup> G. Carducci (1836-1907), *Delle Poesie Latine, Edite e Inedite di Ludovico Ariosto* (Bologna, 1875), p. 19.

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Dati<sup>1</sup> and Alberti<sup>2</sup> sought, with indifferent success, to reconcile Latin quantity with the vernacular.<sup>3</sup> Tolomei<sup>4</sup> and his followers, chief among whom was Annibal Caro, formed the *Accademia della Nuova Poesia*, and attempted to establish an Italian prosody analogous to the Latin. Caro urged his fellow academicians:

Or cantate meco, cantate or ch'altro risorge  
Parnaso, ch'altro nuovo Elicona s'apre—.

Somewhat later and more ambitious efforts are the comedy of Alemanni and the heroic poem, *Eridano*, of Patrizzi.

Among the critics Scaliger devotes the fourth book of his *Poetices* to quantitative measure. To Trissino is assigned the disputed honor of the invention of "*versi sciolti*,"<sup>5</sup> which is in Italian (as is the corresponding blank verse in English) the nearest approach in modern prosody to classic hexameter. He uses this unrhymed verse in his model epic, *Italia Liberata da Gotti*, declaring it to be "*il verso, che secondo il parer mio a lo Eroico si conviene*."<sup>6</sup> Trissino gives also a valuable exposition of vernacular verse forms. He notes the deliberate working out of new forms on the part of poets, and states that when Dante wrote his epic, he had as examples in the vulgar tongue, only the "*Canzoni, o Sonetti, o Ballate, o Mandriali*." Daniello, Minturno, the Tassos, Paola Beni, and others discuss quantitative measures, but the consensus of opinion is that quantity is unsuited to the genius of the language; while Varchi, Dolce, and Muzio openly condemn the attempted reforms of Tolomei and his academy.<sup>7</sup> The great Italian epics bear witness to the justice and finality of the decision.

The experiments of Italy were repeated in France. Michèle de Bouteauville (ca. 1500) supported the theory of his *Art de metriser françois*, by a poem written in classic couplets. The *Opere Toscane* of Alemanni, in blank verse, was published at Lyons in 1533. *La Coltivazione*, a classic imitation in classic measure, appeared at Paris in 1546.

<sup>1</sup> *Certame Coronario* (1441) contains a poem in hexameter by Dati, "*Scena dell'Amicitia*."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> F. Flamini, *Storia Letteraria d'Italia* (Cinquecento), II, 191.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*; cf. D'Ancona-Bacchi, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana* (Firenze, 1912), II, 178.

<sup>6</sup> *Della Poetica: Tutte Le Opere* (Verona, 1729), Bk. II, Div. II-IV.

<sup>7</sup> Flamini, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

Ramus in his *Grammar* (1562), Henry Estienne with his *Traité de la conformité du langage françois avec le grec*, and Pasquier<sup>1</sup> pronounced the French language capable of receiving quantitative measure. Jodelle, Bertet, and Jacques de la Taille<sup>2</sup> are champions of meter. More notable are the efforts of Jean Antoine de Baif, who, under strong Italian influence sought a rehabilitation of classic meters and a reconciliation with musical prosody. In imitation of Tolomei he established the *Academie de Poesie et de Musique*. He and his followers were lightly satirized by Vanquelin as brave spirits who sought to make French words march in feet.

Among the greater French critics the movement was commonly opposed—Fabri condemns the alteration at will of syllable length.<sup>3</sup> Sebillet declares that French verse is measured by syllables only.<sup>4</sup> Du Bellay<sup>5</sup> is complaisant toward meter, but states clearly that although the French have the usage of feet, yet it is by the number of syllables in the line of each poetic genre that their poesy is bound as by a chain, and that rhyme is among the French "*ce qu'est la quantité aux Grecs et Latins*." De Laudun follows Du Bellay. For Ronsard the alexandrines "hold the place in our language of the heroic among the Greeks and Latins."<sup>6</sup> Although he later<sup>7</sup> retracts this view, his apostasy had little effect upon the supremacy of the alexandrine which held its place well into the eighteenth century.

In England a few men, more learned than poetic, maintained the superiority of quantitative measure. Chief of these partisans were Cheke, Ascham, and Watson. In the *Areopagus*, noted in the correspondence of Spenser and Harvey, and doubtless a counterpart of the *Accademia della Nuova Poesia* and of the *Academie de Poésie et de Musique*, Sidney, Dyer, and Spenser experimented with quantitative measure, and were supported by the learned Harvey and Archbishop Drant. Puttenham sympathized with the innovation but was too

<sup>1</sup> *Recherches de la France*, Book VIII, chap. II.

<sup>2</sup> *La Manière de faire des vers en françois comme en grec et en Latin*. (Published 1573; Probably written a decade earlier.)

<sup>3</sup> *Grand et vrai Art de pleine Rhétorique* (1621), ed. A. Heron (Rouen, 1889), Book II, pp. 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Art Poétique François*, ed. Gailf (Paris, 1910), Book I, chap. v, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Defence et L'Illustration*, Book II, chap. vii.

<sup>6</sup> *L'Abrégé: Oeuvres de Ronsard* (Paris, 1866), VII, 329.

<sup>7</sup> See Preface of the *Franciade*.

cautious to commit himself. The fallacy culminated with Webb in his famous quantitative renditions of Spenser's first, second, and fourth *Eclogues*.

Although the attempt to fix quantitative measure upon the growing vernacular proved abortive in its primary intention, yet the actual results of the general movement are worthy of both respect and consideration. If the study of classic meters failed to reinstate syllabic quantities, it, nevertheless, led to a truer valuation of both syllables and accent. The caesura became a point of art rather than of accident. Rhythm came to be understood as a quality independent of rhyme. Men learned that the true genius of the language lay in syllabic numbers and accent to which rhyme was a musical addition. Poetry moved with new dignity and measured tread. But the sense of assured freedom and the consciousness of something yet to be attained led to endless experiment and combination in verse form, the results of which passed beyond the limits of the Renaissance into a timeless inheritance.

## II

In England, Spenser and Sidney were among the first to assimilate the outcome of the struggle. Sidney had been in all probability the central figure of the *Areopagus*, yet a few years later he writes simply:<sup>1</sup>

Now of versifying there are two sorts, the one ancient, the other modern. The ancient marked the quantity of each syllable, and according to that framed his verse; the modern observing only number with some regard of the accent, the chief delight of it standeth in like sounding of the words, which we call rime. Whether of these be the more excellent would bear many speeches; the ancient no doubt more fit for music, both words and tune observing quantity; and more fit lively to express passions by the low or lofty sound of the well-weighted syllable. The latter likewise with his rime striketh a certain music to the ear; and in fine, since it both delight, though by another way, it obtaineth the same purpose; there being in either sweetness, and wanting in neither, majesty.

The regularity, polish, and grace of his own verse attest Sidney's classic training and taste.

Spenser must have come to his task of writing the *Faerie Queene* with a sense of assured freedom.<sup>2</sup> The responsibility of a final selection

<sup>1</sup> *The Defense of Poesy*, ed. A. S. Cook (New York, 1890), pp. 55-56.

<sup>2</sup> The statement is made advisedly. At the time that he submitted the *Faerie Queene* to Harvey and received his unfavorable opinion of it, Spenser was experimenting in meters and debating with Sidney and Dyer the relative merits of rhyme and quantity. It is logical to assume that his convictions crystallized under the debates of the *Areopagus*.



of verse form for his epic probably followed close upon or was contemporary with the discussions of the *Areopagus*. The learned claims of classic meter had been met, and found to be but long shadows of the past. His critical interests had been exercised in the experimental meters of the *Shepherd's Calendar*. Further practice, especially in recasting the early poems published in Van der Noodt's *Theatre*,<sup>1</sup> had given an easy command of form. Spenser was a critic and a scholar to whom both the criticism and the literatures of the world of culture were familiar. The essence of his critical theory was the combination of imitated forms in a new creation, and, therefore, upon the basis of this theory his epic stanza must be studied.

Until an exact prototype be found for Spenser's stanza all discussion of the subject must remain within the field of hypothesis. Therefore, it must be distinctly understood that the following discussion is not offered as definitive proof, but as, at least in the opinion of the writer, a reasonable hypothesis of logical processes.

The Spenserian stanza has been popularly considered the poet's great contribution to English literature, and several theories have been advanced as to its construction. The *rime royal*, the *ottava rima*,<sup>2</sup> and the stanza of Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*,<sup>3</sup> a double quatrain with interlinked rhyme, may any one have formed a basis of the structure. Of the last Tyrwhitt wrote, "Chaucer's stanza of eight verses, with the addition of an Alexandrine, is the Stanza in which Spenser has composed his *Faery Queen*."<sup>4</sup> This theory has been indorsed by recent authority.<sup>5</sup> The analysis is simple, completely possible, and highly plausible, the more so that the employment of the alexandrine as the

<sup>1</sup> Published, London, 1569.

<sup>2</sup> See John Hughes, *Introduction: Works of Spenser* (1715); Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Faerie Queene*, pp. 157-58; James Russell Lowell, *Essay on Spenser: Prose Works* (Boston, 1897), IV, 328-29.

<sup>3</sup> This stanza is fairly common among early writers: see Lydgate's "Envoy: Don't despise your Neighbor"; Sir Richard Ros' translation of Alain Chartier's "La Belle Dame sans Merci"; Chaucer's "L'Envoy de Chaucer a Bukton," "Ballade de Village sauns Peynture;" "Envoy to Complaynt of a Lover's Lyfe."

<sup>4</sup> "An Essay upon his Language and Versification"; Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (London, 1778), IV, 87, note.

<sup>5</sup> See "Introduction to the *Faerie Queene*"; *Works of Spenser* (ed. Dodge, 1908), p. 135: "In defect, then, of satisfactory models, he was driven to invention. He knew, in Chaucer and Lyndesey, a fine, sonorous old stanza in eight verses, built of two quatrains linked by rhyme. Such linking by rhyme was familiar to him from Marot as well, and he had practised the art in the *Calendar*. He had also there experimented with the alexandrine. . . . For his *Faery Queene*, therefore, he merely added to the old stanza that he knew a final alexandrine, and by that simplest combination transfigured them both."

closing line of a stanza was no innovation. Among the adulatory poems addressed to Elizabeth during the famed festivities of Kenilworth, was one of welcome spoken by the Lady of the Lake; the poem consists of seven stanzas composed of a quatrain and a couplet, of which the last line is an alexandrine.<sup>1</sup> "These verses were devised and penned by M. Ferrers—some-time Lord of Misrule in the Court.": so runs the editor's comment in a pamphlet issued shortly afterward in response to the popular demand for an account of the gorgeous pageantry and the "inventions" which employed the best wits of the time. It could only be by rare chance that this poem could escape the knowledge of Spenser. Four years later we first hear of the *Faerie Queene*.

The alexandrine was well known in England although not common.<sup>2</sup> The difference in tone quality between the French and English languages made the alexandrine—almost an ideal line in the former—a ponderous measure in the latter. Nevertheless its rhythmic and resonant harmony was evident. The heaviness was accentuated in continuous composition,<sup>3</sup> hence the function of the alexandrine became in English that of a variant,<sup>4</sup> whose pendulum swing gave an echoing harmony. It was as a variant that Spenser first used the

<sup>1</sup> George Gascoigne, *The Princelye Pleasures at the Courte at Kenilworth* (London, 1576). I quote from the reprint by Marshall (London, 1821), pp. 2-3:

I am the lady of this pleasant Lake  
Who since the time of great King Arthure's reigne  
(That here with royal Court abode he did make)  
Have led a lowring life in restless paine;  
Till now, that this your third arrival here  
Doth cause me come abroad, and boldly thus appeare.

The stanza cited presents, of course, no parallel to the Spenserian stanza, save in the device of extending the last line to an alexandrine. Tyrwhitt (*op. cit.*, p. 178, note) states that Rowley, writing in the reigns of Henry VI and of Edward IV, varied the rime royal by changing the last line to an alexandrine.

<sup>2</sup> It was introduced into England early in the thirteenth century. The accent was by no means so regular as in the French. In consequence it was confounded with the *senarii*, and used as an alternate with the *septenarii*. This combination was designated "poulter's measure" by George Gascoigne, *Certaine Notes of Instruction* (Pub. 1575): *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. Gregory Smith, I, 56. For instances in early literature see: Schiffer, *Englische Metrik*, I; Richard Morris, *Old Eng. Misc., E.E.T.S., Orig. Series, XXV*; Guest, *Hist. of Eng. Rhythms*, chap. vii; ten Brink, *Hist. of Eng. Lit.* (New York, 1889), I, 274; Alden, *Eng. Verse*, pp. 252, 254. Wyatt, Surrey, and Sidney also made limited use of this measure.

<sup>3</sup> Drayton's *Polyolbion* illustrates this fact.

<sup>4</sup> The ballads, in very early forms, show a tendency to vary their measures with a longer line. *The Merchant's Daughter of Bristow* (*Roxburghe Ballads* [ed. Collier, 1847], pp. 104 ff.) has in the second line a fairly well developed and regular form of the alexandrine. The date of this ballad is uncertain. The editor claims that it was written considerably before James I came to the throne.



measure in the *November Eclogue* of the *Shepherds Calendar*, and wrote in sounding phrase:

Up, then Melpomene! the mournful Muse of nyne.

With such literary antecedents, it is clear that the structure of the Spenserian stanza from English elements is entirely possible, and that the acceptance of the measure as made up of the linked quatrains of Chaucer and an alexandrine is on the surface natural and logical.

To this conclusion there can be opposed two objections, and these, to some, would appear intangible. They are the inherent unity of Spenser's verse, and the utter dissimilarity in poetic quality between it and the Chaucerian quatrain.

There is a quality in Spenser's verse which proclaims it a unit, and not a structure of two divisions with a lean-to at the end. One and indivisible are the nine lines of his verse. And as an adjunct to this objection it may be stated, the very simplicity and reasonableness involved in the accepted theory of structure is no argument in regard to the stanza forms of the Renaissance. Complexity as implying greater art, rather than simplicity, was the ideal of the age.

When Spenser sought a medium for his epic, he had as authoritative precedents the classic hexameter, the alexandrine of the French, the *terza rima* of Dante,<sup>1</sup> the *ottava rima* of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, and the decasyllabic heroic line of his own country. His declared models were the works of Chaucer, Homer, Vergil, Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso. The first had left no distinctively epic poem to incite imitation. Spenser's genius for melody saved him from quantitative abortions. The popularity of the *Orlando* and the *Gerusalemme Liberata* easily determined a stanzaic form for the epic which was to "overgo" them all. But the use of the *ottava rima* would have been too patent an imitation in an age which cried out for novelty or invention. Dante was left as a master, and in his measure Spenser found a noble model.

The term invention as applied to metric experiment is inexact; the process is one of modification, and in the stanza which bears Spenser's name there seem to be fused the standard heroic measures of Italy, France, and England.

<sup>1</sup> Trissino wrote his *Italia Liberata in versi sciolti*, taking the eleven-syllabled line of the *terza rima*, but discarding both rhyme and stanzaic form.

The primary suggestive factor in the composition of the Spenserian stanza is the *terza rima* of Dante, combined with the crystallizing native influences of the decasyllabic line and the alexandrine.<sup>1</sup> Second to this in only a degree is the Italian stanza of nine lines best exemplified in the madrigal.

The first step in establishing this thesis is to expand that conception of *terza rima* which limits it to a meter of terzains in which the second line sets the rhyme for the first and third lines of the succeeding terzain. This, the rhyme scheme of the *Divina Commedia*, constitutes a standard or norm, but a thousand examples in Italian literature attest the freedom and variety of the *terza rima* rhymes and linkage. Minturno devotes a section<sup>2</sup> to the variations of which the *tercetti* are susceptible and endeavors to give every possible combination. There are three general schemes: that used by Dante and noted above; that which in some combination presents rhyme within the terzain; and that which demands no internal rhyme but preserves rhyme linkage between the tercets.<sup>3</sup> A poem of the last type, however, almost invariably resolves into final groups the second and third lines of which form a rhymed couplet.<sup>4</sup> Not only were the combination and variation of the *terza rima* permitted, but a keen perception of its harmonic possibilities made such modulation an eagerly sought feature of art.<sup>5</sup>

The impossibility of knowing just what accent was given to Italian poetry by English readers renders the discussion at this point speculative. The prevalent custom of travel in Italy and the fashionable popularity<sup>6</sup> of all things Italian, however, make it tolerably sure that knowledge was first hand and fairly correct. The fact that knowledge

<sup>1</sup> Harvey (*Marginalia*, ed. G. M. C. Smith, p. 168) writes: "y\* difference of y\* last verse from y\* rest in euerie Stanza a grace in y\* Faerie Queen. An error [if an error] in sum few Eclogues of Sir Philip Sidney."

<sup>2</sup> *L'Arte Poetica*, Bk. III, pp. 254 ff.; cf. Trissino, *op. cit.*, Divisions II, III, and IV.

<sup>3</sup> A. Firenzuola (*I Ragionamenti*, Milan, 1891) gives: (1) aba/bcb/cdc/, etc.; (2) aba/bbc/cdd/, etc.; (3) abc/abc/cde/dff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Dante, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Bk. II, chap. xlii: "Also with regard to the arrangement of the rhymes, according as they are in the *fronte* or *coda*, every wished-for license, it seems, should be conceded, but still the endings of the last lines are most beautifully disposed if they fall with a rhyme into silence."

<sup>5</sup> Firenzuola (*op. cit.*, p. 285) advocates innovations through the example of Greek and Latin writers, and of Dante and Petrarch. Excellent examples of varied *terza rima* in stanzaic form are to be found on pp. 289 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster* (London, 1909), pp. 72-92; Gabriel Harvey, *Speculum Tuscanismi: Works of Harvey* (ed. Grossart), I, 84-86.

of Italian was not confined to a limited class of scholars, but widely spread, increases the probability of emphasis on all points common to the two languages, and especially upon any correspondence between the admired metrical forms of Italy and the cruder compositions of England.

We have seen that vernacular poetry had come to be recognized in Italy, France, and England as dependent upon syllable number and accent.<sup>1</sup> The line of the *terza rima* of Dante is hendecasyllabic.<sup>2</sup> Since the French take the masculine or oxytonic verse as a norm, and the Italians the feminine or paroxytonic, there is very nearly an equation between the Italian eleven-syllable and the French ten-syllable line, and as a corollary, with the English heroic line. Besides this intrinsic parallelism between the normal Italian verse, and the French and English, certain variation in the former establishes other relations. The accent falls upon the tenth<sup>3</sup> syllable of the Italian verse; occasionally the final syllable is dropped and the line becomes masculine or purely decasyllabic and is called *tronco*—

Ma dimmi, se tu sai a che verranno.<sup>4</sup>

Again an extra uncounted syllable changes the line to *sdrucchiolo*, and this with some emphasis on the sixth syllable, gives the cadence of the alexandrine,<sup>5</sup> as in "A parole formar disconvenevole" (*Inferno*,

<sup>1</sup>See Trissino (*op. cit.*, Div. II, p. 16) for an excellent discussion of the matter; cf. *ibid.*, p. 14; Minturno, *L'Arte Poetica*, Bk. I, p. 3; Du Bellay, *Def. et Illus.*, chap. vii, p. 130; Sidney, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup>For authority in the following discussion I have drawn without reserve upon Professor Grandgent's *Introduction* to his edition of the *Divina Commedia*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi, and upon the Rev. H. F. Tozer's "Essay on the Metre of the *Divina Commedia*." For this essay see the Rev. Edward Moore, *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Div. Com.* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1889), App. V, pp. 713-23.

<sup>3</sup>Dante (*De Vul. Eloq.*, Bk. II, chap. v) pronounces the line of eleven syllables "the stateliest as well by reason of the length of time it occupies as of its capacity in regard to subject, construction, and words." He discusses the apparent line of ten syllables, but claims the desired eleventh syllable in one case through a double-consonant ending—

"Ara auzirez encabalitz cantars"—

which he declares has the force of a syllable; and again through a long final vowel—

"De fine si vient sen et bonté."

Lines of an even number of syllables he condemns as rude. In regard to combination of varying line lengths, he states that the line of eleven syllables "seems to rise still more clearly and loftily in its stateliness" when combined with those of seven syllables. Cf. Tozer, *op. cit.*, pp. 714-15.

<sup>4</sup>*Inferno*, IV, 60; cf. *Inferno*, IV, 56; XX, 74; XXVIII, 32; XXXII, 26; XXXII, 62; *Purg.* IV, 68; XII, 41. For references see Tozer, *op. cit.*, p. 714.

*Inferno*, XV, 1; XXIII, 32; XXVIII, 80; *Par.* XXVI, 125; XXVIII, 125. See Tozer, *loc. cit.*

XXIV, 66); "Ch'era ronchioso, stretto e malagevole" (*ibid.*, 62), "Parlando andava per non parer fiévole" (*ibid.*, 64). An attempt to reduce these variations to definite classes of words is only partially successful.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, *tronco* and *sdrucchiolo* are too fully recognized in Italian criticism as legitimate modifications to warrant apologetic discussion. The importance for our argument lies in the rhythmic modulation of these variations.

The accent in Dante's line falls, as noted, with full force upon the tenth syllable; besides this there is a secondary accent upon the fourth or sixth syllable. His meter in the strict sense of the word is iambic, or a succession of light and strong syllables. Grandgent says that it is a movement "more nearly approaching that of English poetry, than this theoretical scheme would indicate: . . ." Tozer writes: "the lines naturally break into feet of two syllables, the stress or beat being on the latter of the two syllables." He gives the following examples:

Nel mézzo dél cammín di nóstra víta  
Mí rítrovái per úna sílva oscúra.

(*Inf.*, I, 1-2)

and states that "when the poet desires to give the greatest smoothness to his verses, he keeps to this;"<sup>2</sup> [rhythm]. The regularity of this movement is saved from monotony by various substitutions, chief of which is the use of anacrusis, or else beginning the line with a strong syllable.

The problems of synizesis, elision, and hiatus, as they affect the measure and cadence of the line, plunge us into further uncertainties.<sup>3</sup> Here it must be simply stated that all rules are subject to frequent exceptions. In synizesis the word accent falling upon the first vowel absorbs the second. If the accent falls naturally upon the second, the vowels are pronounced separately. This rule applies to words within the line. Final words receive a separate vowel articulation, which produces the most frequent form of *sdrucchiolo*. The elision of a single unaccented vowel before a vowel commencing the next word is regular; the elision of two is common; and that of three occurs. An accented

<sup>1</sup> Tozer, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115; Trissino (*op. cit.*, Div. II, p. 16), in a treatment of metric feet, states that iambs have special pre-eminence. Later (Div. IV, p. 83) he excuses his exclusive use of iambic verse for examples on the same grounds.

<sup>3</sup> Trissino, *op. cit.*, Div. II, pp. 20-22.

final vowel, however, retains its individuality and is pronounced independently of the succeeding initial vowel. If the latter is weak it may be absorbed or united with the stronger sound as a diphthong. This process is called hiatus. In monosyllables great independence of treatment prevails. Since the liberty accorded the Italian poet in the treatment of his vowels is so great, it would be illogical not to expect some liberties, on the part of foreign readers, in the rendition of the meter, and, as already suggested, a certain emphasis upon elements related to native metrical schemes.

In fine we have in the verse of Dante an epic meter stately, ample, and capable of receiving all the embellishments of art. It has a sustained iambic movement. The strong accent upon the tenth syllable relates the rhythm of the line to the French and English decasyllabic measure. The *sdrucchiolo* lines give the cadence of the alexandrine.

To attribute a relationship between these characteristics and the Spenserian verse is a delicate and dangerous task. It is by no means intended to assert that Spenser read Dante's epic and found there, in combination, decasyllabic and alexandrine lines which he transferred to his own verse. It is intended to state as clearly as possible that Spenser found in the *terza rima*<sup>1</sup> of Dante a noble medium, dignified both by a master-poet and a master-poem, one far removed from the "envy of the present days," honored by critics, and susceptible of infinite art. He found there too an echoing cadence and rhythm which he sought to re-embody through the nearest familiar forms, the English heroic line and the French alexandrine.

Two phases of evidence may be adduced in favor of this theory, Spenser's strong Italian interest and the quality of his verse.

The popularity of all things Italian has been noted. Sidney's *Defense of Poesy* is a rendition of Italian criticism and as such far is in advance of contemporary English works. In discussing the merit of the vernacular, he states that by contrast the Italian is cumbered with elisions. He notes as further disadvantages the lack of a fixed caesura, the incapacity of the language for masculine rhyme, and comments on the nature of the *sdrucchiolo*.<sup>2</sup> The knowledge and imitation

<sup>1</sup> *Terza rima* was not uncommon in England. Besides other examples three popular romances, *Le Bone Florence of Rome* (aab/cbb/dab), *The Erle of Tolous* (aab/cbb/ddb/eeb), and *Launfel* by Thomas Chestre were in this meter. It was also commonly used in poems of occasional character.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

of Italian verse, evident from Chaucer to Milton, had undergone a notable revival at the hands of Wyatt and Surrey. Spenser's own interest is attested by his early translations from the Italian<sup>1</sup> and the subsequent reworking of these into forms more near to the Italian rhythm. His whole work reflects the influence of Italian literature and critical thought.

The outstanding quality of Spenser's verse is its mellifluous smoothness. His recent editor<sup>2</sup> notes his "almost unerring sense for language and his apparently inexhaustible power of welling out the most limpid and exquisitely modulated verse." Lowell writes:<sup>3</sup> "There is no ebb and flow to his metre more than on the shores of the Adriatic, but wave follows wave with equable gainings and recessions, the one sliding back in fluent music to be mingled with and carried forward to the next." It is this level harmony which bespeaks a kinship to Italian verse closer than mere number and rhyme. It is this musical quality which unites the verse of Spenser with that of Dante, the musician poet of Italy.<sup>4</sup>

When we consider the absolute familiarity with Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso which is reflected in Spenser's work, and contrast the epic riches of Italy with the epic poverty of England, there is small wonder that Spenser assimilated meter and tone-quality where he found both inspiration and material. He seeks always soft and liquid sounds. The prevalence of vowels, the sibilant sounds of *s*, *c*, *s*, and the softness of *z* aid effect, but most of all the level tone and lack of stress give an Italian quality to his verse. Read aloud a canto from Spenser and note the even tone of the voice; a lingering pause rather than stress gives cadence. Note the softness of the iambics; note the coincidence of prose and verse accent which more than all else breeds a sliding smoothness. Note too how perfectly the light stresses correspond to the norm observed in the Italian verse; the stress on the fourth, sixth, and tenth syllables is uniform. But note most of all the light quality of Spenser's alexandrine, where the accent

<sup>1</sup> See Van der Noodt's *Theatre: Works of Spenser* (ed. Grossart), Vol. III, App.

<sup>2</sup> Professor R. E. N. Dodge.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> *De Vul. Eloq.* (chaps. x-xi) gives a discussion of musical setting; see Arnaldo Bonaventura, *Dante e la Musica*, Livorno, 1904.



falls with gentle surety upon the tenth syllable leaving the two last as light almost as the *sdrucciolo*.<sup>1</sup>

Doe breed repentaunce late and lasting infamy.

(II, V, 13)

And gan to break the bands of their captivities.

(II, V, 17)

And let him hear some part of their rare melody.

(II, XII? 33)

The which beside the gate, for swyne was ordered.

(III, IX, 11)

When the soft smoothness and cloying sweetness of Spenser's liquid verse is compared with the strong stress, swift almost martial beat, and rugged quality of Chaucer's and Lindsay's vigorous quatrains, the one impression is of total dissimilarity. It may be said of them, they are both verse, as it is said to accentuate the unlikeness of individuals, they are both men.

From *The Monkes Tale* we take the following:

The mighty trone, the precious tresor,  
The glorious ceptre and royal magestie  
That hadde the king Nabugodonosor  
With tonge nunethe may deseryved be  
He twyes wan Ierusalem the citie;  
The vessel of the temple he with him ladde,  
At Babiloyne was his sovereyn see,  
In which his glorie and his delyt he hadde.

(ll. 3333-40)

From Lindsay:

Gett vpe! thow slepist all to lang, O Lord,  
And mak one haistie reformation  
On thame quhilk doith tramp doun yi gracious worde,  
And hes ane deidly Indignatioun  
Att thame quhilk makith trew narratioun  
Off thy Gospell, schawing the verytie.  
O Lord! I mak the supplicatioun  
Supporte our Hope, and Charytie.

(*The Monarche*, Bk. II, ll. 2701-8)

<sup>1</sup> Puttenham (*Arte of Eng. Poesy*, Bk. II, c. 4) notes this quality in an alexandrine quoted from Surrey. The sharp accent upon the antepenult, he says, "runnes like a Dactill, and carries the two later sillables away so speedily as it seems but one foote in our vulgar measure, and by that meanes, makes the verse seeme but of eleuen sillables."

With these compare the following stanza from the *Faerie Queene*:

And more to lulle him in his slumber soft  
 A trickling stream from high rock tumbling downe,  
 And ever drizzling raine upon the loft,  
 Mixt with a murmuring wind, much like the sowne,  
 Of swarming bees, did cast him in a swowne:  
 No other noyse, nor peoples troublous cryes  
 As still are wont t'annoy the walled towne  
 Might there be heard: but careless Quiet lyes,  
 Wrapt in eternall silence farre from enemies.<sup>1</sup>

(I, i, 41)

We are here debating two theories as to the origin of the Spenserian stanza, that it was based on a double quatrain borrowed from Chaucer and Lindsay, with an added alexandrine, or on the *terza rima* of Dante modified to stanzaic form. The first involves the assumption of a prototype which has no feature in common with its copy save a partial agreement of rhyme scheme. It further demands a double hypothesis of structure from unrelated sources. The second posits an antecedent of like nature to its offspring and embraces complete unity of structure. Hence it is concluded that the partial correspondence of rhyme scheme between the double quatrain of Chaucer and the stanza of Spenser is a coincidence and that the true original is a stanzaic form of the *terza rima*.

As regards the exact stanza form the possibility of a number of convergent influences is to be reckoned with. King James in his *Short Treatise on Verse* designates a nine-line stanza as the standard heroic verse. He writes: "For the description of Heroique actis, Martiall and knightly faittis of armes, vse this kynde of verse following call it *Heroicall*, as . . . ." There follows a stanza built of three *terzains*, rhyming aab/aab/bab.<sup>2</sup> Lindsay also uses an interesting form of *terza rima* with a rhyme scheme of aab/aab/bcc.<sup>3</sup> These are distinct borrowings from the Italian, and represent two of the simpler rhyme schemes of the *terza*. The poems are in regular decasyllabic line. The

<sup>1</sup> The example selected from Spenser is purposely an extreme to point contrast. I am fully conscious that the difference in material exercises a great influence upon the tone effect, but even where Spenser seeks a vigorous or martial expression, his tone-quality is flaccid as compared with resounding accentuation of Chaucer and of Lindsay.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Lindsay (*Works*, E.E.T.S., II, 1), *Ane Exhortation Gyffen Be Father Experience Vnto His Son The Curteous*; see also *The Epistil to the Redar*, Preface to his *Monarchie*.

verse of the *Divina Commedia* itself has a tendency, through the recognition of the tercet as a component unit, to divide into groups of nine. Thus in the first canto of one hundred and thirty-six lines, every ninth line is marked by a full period, except l. 45, followed by a dash, and l. 117, which takes a semicolon. In the second canto the proportion of run-on lines at the end of each group of nine is slightly greater. The third shows fourteen groups of nine of which all are periodic except two (ll. 72-90) which are run on, one (l. 54) followed by a semicolon, and the other (l. 27) by a comma. cursory experiments with other cantos shows about the same proportions. Experiments with the division of the Spenserian stanza are not conclusive; they show an almost equal sense of quaterno and quinario, or sestette and tercet<sup>1</sup> grouping, with the relative positions of the groups reversed at will.

The preceding citations of stanza form have been made solely with the purpose of suggesting a certain familiarity on Spenser's part with the form which he selected for the *Faerie Queene*. It has been already suggested that the popularity of the *Orlando Furioso* and of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* influenced Spenser in the selection of a stanzaic medium. It must further be stated that the separation of the *terza rima* into stanzas relieved the poet from the strain of a continuous linkage for which the English language was little adapted.

The true prototype of the Spenserian stanza is probably to be found in the Italian madrigal, which, although it may add or omit a line, is commonly a measure of nine lines.

The madrigal or *mandriale*, as it was called, was a form which assumed some importance among Italian writers and critics. Its uncertain relationship to the sonnet, *canzone*, *ballate*, and *capitoli* obscures its origin.<sup>2</sup> Antonio da Tempo, a contemporary of Dante, includes it as fifth among the seven classes into which he divides vulgar rhyme.<sup>3</sup> He gives the etymology *mandra*, pen or fold, later herd. The verse first arose among rude and rustic men who sang the love of the vulgar Venus, in simple words to the rude music of their flutes. But today, adds da Tempo, these verses are compiled in a more subtle and

<sup>1</sup> Minturno (*L'Arte Poetica*, III, 217) notes the readiness with which the stanzaic group of nine may be rendered as a *quinario* and *quartetto* or as a *senario* and *terzetto*.

<sup>2</sup> Trissino (*op. cit.*, Div. VI, p. 114) notes the *mandriale* as being popular before the time of Dante.

<sup>3</sup> *Trattato delle Rime Volgare* (Pub. 1332): *Collezione di Opere Inedite o Rare* (Bologna, Presso Gaetano Romagnoli, 1869), XXVII, 72.

beautiful manner. Although he admits the difficulty of adequately describing love in rustic words, he insists that the diction shall retain something of its original character, and that the sound be beautiful yet also preserve some rusticity in harmony with the words. The stanza consists of three *terzains* with interlinked rhyme. The examples given are of the simplest nature: aba/aba/aba/; and abb/abb/abb/. The line is commonly an *undenarius*, but it may be *septenarius*, a *biseptenarius* or two measures may be combined.<sup>1</sup>

It is pertinent to observe here that the Italians are not obsessed by a reverence for inviolable uniformity;<sup>2</sup> the thought is sometimes allowed to regulate line number and length, rather than that form should always control and compress thought. The fact that Dante allows himself an extra line or two at the close of his *cantos* is one proof of this; another is the familiar tailed sonnet;<sup>3</sup> a third is to be found in the variant forms of the *canzone*, *ballate*, and *capitoli*, and to these we may add the verse in question, the *madrigal*.<sup>4</sup>

Bembo, in his comments on developments in Sicilian, Tuscan, and Provençal verse, notes the *mandriale* among the more or less free forms. Both Trissino and Minturno tell us that the last group in *terza rima* may be developed into a *quarternio* or a *quinario*.<sup>5</sup> The former deals with the *mandriale* at length. He compares it to the sonnet form with divisions of *volte* and *tornelli*. He analyzes these into certain fixed modes or combinations, and gives illustrations. The examples point to the popularity of a closing couplet.<sup>6</sup> A clear distinction must be made between the *ottava rima* built of quatrains and the eight-line *madrigal* which is constructed of *terzains*, with a double *ritornello* or couplet ending.

<sup>1</sup> Da Tempo, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-41.

<sup>2</sup> Firenzuola, *op. cit.*, pp. 270 ff.: At a courtly discussion modeled on those of the *Decamerone* a guest recites a *canzone*. This is severely criticized as varying in structure from the work of any author ancient or modern. The composer defends his innovation by the example of the ancients. He is opposed by an argument for definite law of form. He declares new inventions demand new forms, and wins the debate. Firenzuola (pp. 285-86) further defends innovation. He gives examples of *canzone* in stanzas of eight, thirteen, twelve, and nine lines. The last runs: aba/bbc/cdd/.

<sup>3</sup> Trissino, *op. cit.*, Div. IV, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Francesco Bartello, *Compendio Dell' Arte Ritmica* (Coll. di Opere Ined. o Rara, Bologna, 1869), pp. 202-3.

<sup>5</sup> Trissino, *op. cit.*, Div. IV, p. 81; cf. Minturno, *L'Arte Poetica*, Bk. III, p. 264.

<sup>6</sup> Trissino, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-81.

Since full recognition has been accorded the variation in the madrigal, we may return to our argument, which is concerned with the normal form of nine lines, and seek to establish its relation to Spenser's stanza.

Minturno divides the epic into three classes: "*La prima è di Seruentesi, la seconda di Romanzi; la terza di rime Sciolti.*" The first is identified with the *terza rima* and hence with the measure of Dante.<sup>1</sup> The *Serventesi* is further identified with the *terza rima* of the *capitoli* and analogically with the madrigal. Hence a stanzaic form of the *terza rima* becomes identified with epic meter. Dante himself clearly makes no distinction between the *terza rima* of his canzone, which he declares the noblest form of poetry, and his continued composition. It is clear, therefore, that the madrigal as a stanzaic form of *terza rima* may be reckoned dignified epic measure.

Trissino discusses the structure of the madrigal with full illustrations. Three of these are of especial interest.<sup>2</sup> One of eight lines from Petrarch runs: aba/bcb/cc. Another of ten lines has the scheme: aba/bcb/ded/e. The third is regular: aba/acc/cdd. In a similar discussion of the madrigal Tasso cites the same group.<sup>3</sup> Of the nine-line madrigal he writes: "It is read without the fifth line without injury to the structure."<sup>4</sup> That is,

the scheme aba/acc/cdd  
becomes aba/a(c)c/cdd  
and equals aba/acc/dd.

This change preserves the integrity of the *terza rima* structure, but gives a concluding double *tornello* instead of the third *terzain*. The alteration was made by a commentator of Petrarch and through it he secured conformity with the two preceding stanzas of the madrigal which were of eight lines each, with the final double *tornello* or couplet.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 138; See also p. 114, "— è da credere che Dante trovasse queste Terze rime per far versi, che avessero similitudine a lo Eroico;" and also: [Dante] "ritrovò quel modo di Terze rimè le quali Antonio da Tempo, chi fu a l'età sua, dice, che sono Serventesi."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Div. IV, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Dialoghi*, III, 84-85.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85. "Benchè questo madrigale se così vogliamo più, tosto chiamarlo, nel Petrarca comentato dal Vellutello, si legge senza il quinto verso, senz'alcun danno de la testura." This line can be omitted without injury to the context.

In pointing out the fifth line as a pivot upon which the structure of the madrigal turns from its standard<sup>1</sup> to its most common variant, Tasso almost incidentally enunciates a fact which carries the logic of a general principle. Other substitutions are possible, but numerous experiments prove the fifth space to be the point at which most commonly a line can be withdrawn or inserted without injury to the *terza rima* structure of the madrigal.<sup>2</sup> The rule is not stated elsewhere, but its application by Vellutello and citation by Tasso is evidence of the study and reduction to law of variations within the madrigal, and as such it must have been known to writers of the popular genre and hence to Spenser.

If, accepting the fifth as a pivotal space, we apply the principle of Tasso conversely to the madrigal of eight lines cited by both him and Trissino, we have as the logical result the following:

aba/bcb/cc  
aba/b( )c/bcc  
aba/bbc/bcc

The last is the Spenserian rhyme scheme.

It is not intended to assert that Spenser necessarily modeled his stanza upon the identical illustrations found in Trissino<sup>3</sup> and Tasso. The discussion deals with principles of verse structure rather than with specific instance. The background is a knowledge of how freely principles of criticism and specific illustrations were passed from critic to critic and nation to nation. The appearance of certain illustrations in the work of two critics increases not only the possibility of the poet's

<sup>1</sup> The predominance of a nine-line madrigal is indisputable:

<i>Parnaso Italiano:</i>	XXVI, 21. abb/acc/cdd/	Ariosto
	XXVI, 21. abb/acc/cdd	Anon
	XXVI, 96. abc/abc/cdd/:	Fracastoro
	XXX, 269. aba/ccd/dee:	Molza
	XXXI, 136. aab/edc/dee	Ariosto
	XXXI, 321. abb/aac/cdd	Ariosto
	XLI, 102. abb/cdd/cee	Anon

<sup>2</sup> This statement refers only to those schemes which have *tercetti* with internal rhyme and linkage.

<sup>3</sup> Trissino is, however, acknowledged by Sidney as an authority. Spenser's knowledge of him is almost a foregone conclusion. The popularity of Tasso's dialogues was widespread. Their composition extended over a number of years probably from 1576-95. They were brief, easily handled in MS, and the probability that they were known in the coterie of Sidney is great. The particular dialogue in question, *La Cavaletta o vero de la Poesia Toscana*, was not published before 1587. The date of composition, not later than 1584, is uncertain. A certain kinship with the youthful *Arte Poetica* might well place it earlier.



knowledge of the passage, but also increases the probability of its re-appearance elsewhere. The madrigal in question, so close to Spenser's verse as to be brought into complete conformity by a single and authorized modification, was one of Petrarch's, and could easily have been known to the poet from the original.

It has been a matter of surprise that among hundreds of madrigals which nearly approximate Spenser's scheme, no exact counterpart has been found. The poet's skill is proved through the very perfection of his conception. He limits his stanza to a triple rhyme, thus eliminating what would have been an unbalanced element had he followed Dante's precise form. By rhyme within each *terzain*, and uniform interlinkage, he secures a complete circle of harmony, to which the undulating cadence of the alexandrine gives an echo.<sup>1</sup> Nor was it without a subtle appeal to the Renaissance that Spenser compassed the perfect number and attained the music of the spheres.

Contemporary evidence for the recognition of Spenser's stanza as a madrigal form, while not conclusive, is yet not to be disregarded. Richard Carlton published, in 1601, his *Madrigals to Five Voices*. He included as madrigals three stanzas from the *Faerie Queene*: "Nought is on earth more sacred or divine," (V. VII, 1); "Nought under heaven so strongly doth allure," (V. viii, 1); "Ye gentle ladies, in whose soueraigne powre," (VI, viii, 1).<sup>2</sup>

The poet himself designates his work as a madrigal. To Sir Walter Raleigh, a known composer of madrigals, a fellow-poet, with whom he had talked and under whose encouragement the *Faerie Queene* was brought to light, Spenser writes in his dedicatory sonnet:

To thee that art the sommers nightingale  
Thy soueraine Goddesses most dear delight  
Why doe I send this rusticke madrigale  
That may thy tuneful ear unseason quite?

The connotation of madrigal here demands consideration. Does Spenser intend merely a politely deprecatory reference to his great

<sup>1</sup> The alexandrine has been explained as an echo of Dante's *sdrucchiolo*. This measure is by no means uncommon as the last line of the madrigal.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. A. Cox, *English Madrigals of the time of Shakespeare: Intro.*, p. 14. Mr. Cox points out that

"More then most faire"

also from the 'Faerie Queene' appeared in 1680, arranged by Martin Peerson." The volume of Peerson is not accessible to me but I believe the passage in question is to be referred to Amoretti, VIII—"More then most faire, full of the living fire."

court epic, as the medium of love and praise, or does he imply a genuine source or form? We have seen that the identification of the Spenserian stanza with the Italian form of the madrigal is a logical possibility. The greater probability of identification rests upon a conception of the genre which would approach the dignity of Spenser's theme, and the national attitude toward this Italian importation.

Two centuries earlier da Tempo noted that the madrigal had abandoned its early rusticity for a more artistic form, and he demanded only that traces be kept of its origin. Trissino<sup>1</sup> says of the form that it should have suavity and calm sweetness, but should not be overloaded with figures. Spenser has in a measure conformed to these strictures. In its comprehensive definition of the madrigal the *Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca* includes the following characterization: "*Sono dunque i madrigali, come tutte le altre poesie, di tre sorti: narrativi, rappresentativi o imitativi, e misti.*" There would seem to be here a sufficiently broad classification to include the *Faerie Queene*.

Toward the close of the sixteenth century the madrigal assumed unparalleled popularity in England.<sup>2</sup> The fact that it bore both a musical and literary character makes the problem almost insoluble; for free<sup>3</sup> as we have shown the Italian structure to be, the arrangement of the words to music in part songs destroys law of form<sup>4</sup> and leaves theme and function as distinguishing characteristics. Hence the reputed madrigals of Wyatt, of Campion, and of Turberville are canzone and canzonets which do not conform to fixed types. On the whole, popular interest centered in England on the musical function

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, Div. IV, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Yonge: *Musica Transalpina* (1588), a Collection of Madrigals; Rimbauld's *Bibliotheca Madrigaliana* lists about eighteen hundred Elizabethan madrigals; Thomas. Oliphant in *Musa Madrigaliana* (London, 1837) cites about four hundred Elizabethan madrigals with some Italian originals; the *Sonnets, Songs and Madrigals* of William Byrd were issued in publications dated 1587, 1588, 1589, 1591; Thomas Morley's *Canzonets* appeared in 1593, his *Madrigalls to foure Voyces*, in 1594, a third collection in 1595; George Kirbye's *Madrigals* were published in 1596; John Dowland's, *First Book of Songs or Aires*, in 1597, his second in 1600, third in 1603; John Wilbye: *First Set of Eng. Madrigals*, 1598; second, 1609; the famous collection of madrigals in praise of Elizabeth, *The Triumphs of Oriana* (modeled upon *Il Trionfi di Dori*, published at Rome in 1597 [?]) was printed in 1601, but not made public until 1603. With the early seventeenth century the publications increased beyond number.

<sup>3</sup> *Vocabulario dell' Accad. della Crusca: Madrigals*—"libero nell' ordine delle rime e nello mescolanza de' versi."

<sup>4</sup> *Encyc. Brit.*: "Madrigal is the name of a form of verse, the exact nature of which has never been decided in England."

of the madrigal. In its literary development nothing appears of sufficient moment to have influenced Spenser. A single allusion by Thomas Campion seems to place the madrigal upon the lofty plane accorded it by Spenser. He writes of Anacreontic verse, "yett is it passing graceful in our English toong, and will excellently fit the subject of a Madrigall or any other lofty or tragicall matter."<sup>1</sup> The allusion is, however, more probably to a sad and serious subject of song, for it is to be remembered both the praise of the Virgin and the Passion of Christ were sung in madrigals.

We may, therefore, conclude that Spenser in his choice of the madrigal as his stanzaic form was under the influence of Italian rather than English literature. In the former he found the madrigal as a highly artificial form inextricably related to the sonnet, *ballate*, *capitoli*, and *canzone*. As the *Serventesi* of Dante and the stanza form of the *terza rima* it held an epic dignity.<sup>2</sup> Hence Spenser may deliberately and with good reason have designated his epic a madrigal.

The discussion of this subject has of necessity been discursive. It has been necessary to place before the reader the experimental stage of meter, and to demonstrate that both critical problems and metrical forms were passed from nation to nation. To this end, the movements in Italy, France, and England to restore classic meter were discussed; the diversion of these aims, the compromise with modern forms, and the results were pointed out. The accepted theory as to the structure of Spenser's stanza was reviewed. As the basis for a new theory the common elements in the meter of Dante and Spenser were compared. A more specific stanzaic form was sought in the madrigal. The nature, form, relations, and function of this genre and its transference to France and England were discussed.

From the above the following conclusions have been drawn. As the result of the experimental stage of meter, and in default of a fixed precedent in his own language, it was a point of artistic honor with Spenser to devise a new meter for what he designed as the greatest epic of all time. The accepted view of this meter is refuted on the ground that there is no relation of tone or quality between the stirring,

<sup>1</sup> *Observations on the Art of English Verse* (1662), chap. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Trissino, *op. cit.*, Div. VI, p. 138: "salvo che i *Serventesi*, cioè le *terze rime* de i *Trionfi* del Petrarca, e de l'opera de Dante, e di altri, che per essere di una sola azione grande, la quale ha principio, e mezzo, e fine . . . ."

rugged verse of Chaucer and Lindsay and the liquid mellifluence of Spenser's stanza; that the partial agreement of rhyme scheme is accidental; that the theory involves a double and unrelated hypothesis; that a structure made up of distinct elements would psychologically keep some trace of its original components, and last, that no notable work, which would have tempted Spenser to rivalry, existed in the meter of the double quatrains.

The theory is offered that Spenser turned to Italian sources for his metric scheme; that he rejected the *ottava rima* of Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso as too badly imitative for his own dignity, but accepted a stanzaic measure as a proper and popular medium for the epic. In the *terza rima* of Dante he found a medium dignified by its use in a great epic. This he transferred in all the music of its tone quality and syllabic form into the nearest equivalent of his native language. In accordance with English poetic genius he standardized syllabic number and line-length, taking the masculine decasyllabic line as a norm, developing the cadence of the *sdruciollo* into the alexandrine and placing it in a uniform position. Beyond doubt he effected this transmutation with full consciousness of the heroic value of the English decasyllabic line, and of the lingering cadence of the French alexandrine, and perhaps with the stanza of M. Ferrers directly in mind. For stanzaic form his direct model was the nine-line madrigal recognized by all critics as a stanzaic form of *terza rima*. Furthermore, it is urged that his stanza has a complete unity which bears no trace of compound structure, and that its level tone and musical quality indisputably mark its Italian origin, and kinship with Dante and the madrigal.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In advancing a new theory it is sometimes with a feeling akin to triumph that the theorist discovers in an earlier critic a subconscious approximation of his own view. Thomas Warton is perhaps the man who has best known Spenser. A recent reference to his *Observations* (pp. 157-58) has given new meaning to the following passage. In regard to the complicated rhyme scheme of the *Faerie Queene* he writes: "... a circumstance natural to the Italian which deals largely in identical cadences. Besides it is to be remembered that Tasso and Ariosto did not embarrass themselves with the necessity of finding out so many similar terminations as did Spenser. Their *ottava rima* has only three similar endings, alternating rhyming. The last two lines formed a distinct rhyme. But in Spenser the second rhyme is repeated four times and the third three."

[Note] \*"See examples of the measures of the Provençal poets in Petrarch. Spenser forms a compound of many of these." The last statement verges upon and indorses the theory offered in this discussion.

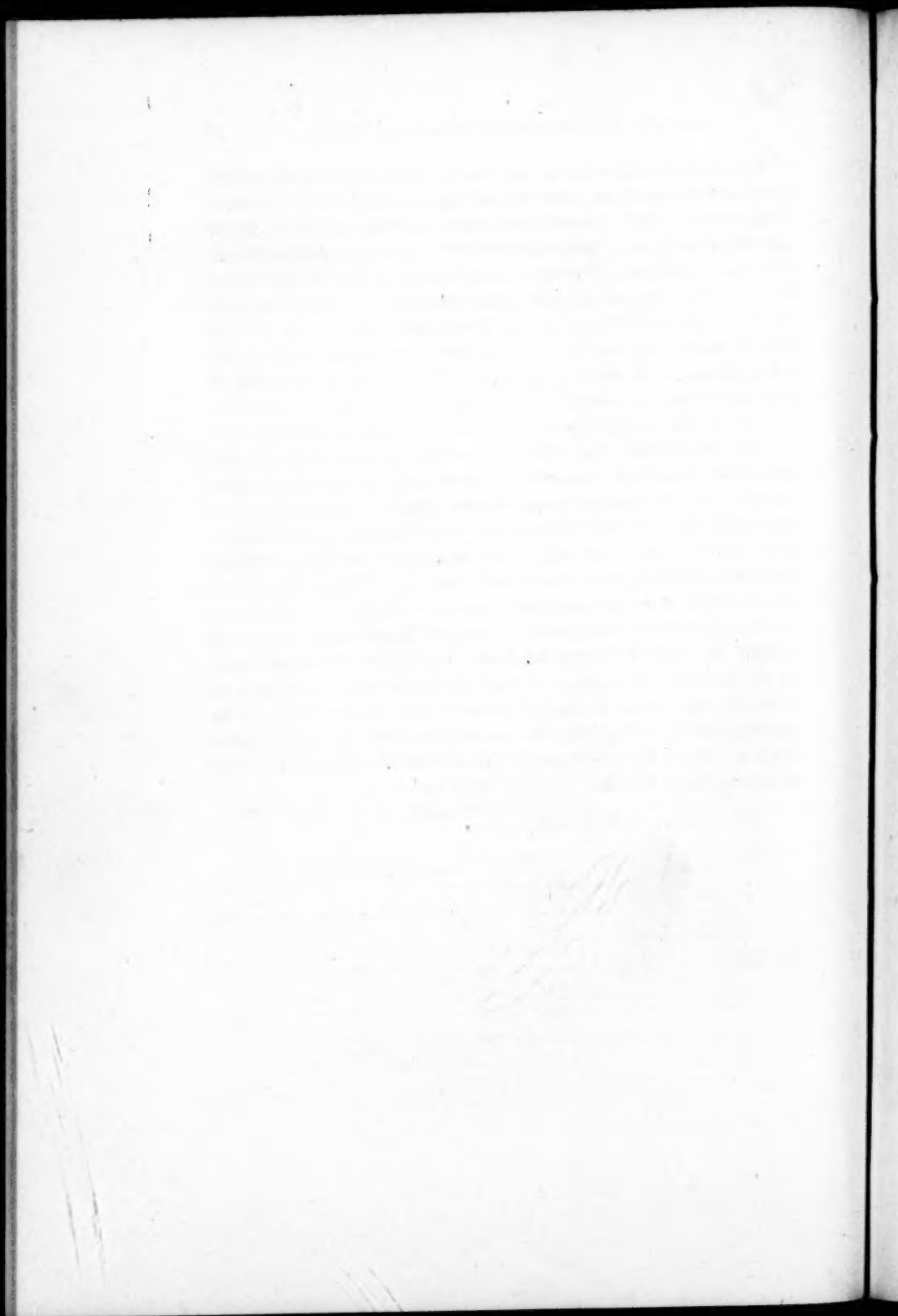
An odd indorsement of the madrigal form of Spenser's stanza comes from the eighteenth century. In 1736, Sheridan wrote to Swift: "I know you love Alexandrines; for which reason I closed the above madrigal with one. I think it is of a very good proportion, which I hope you will set to music." (*Swift's Letters* [ed. 1768], IV, 167). A study of Italian influence upon Spenser's other verse forms would be corroborative of general Italian influence.

Spenser devised his stanza with the keenest exercise of his critical faculties. His principles were the Renaissance theories of imitation and invention. They focused in his work. The first gave him a legitimate right to draw upon the literature of the world; the second bade him create anew from the riches gathered there. For the dictum of Horace, "Make the treasures of Greece your own," was echoed in substance by all his successors of the Renaissance. And so, as we have said, Spenser drew his stanza as he drew his inspiration from the richest literature of his age, but in the light of his critical judgment he re-created it in the media of his own nation.

Nor did his critical insight rest here. His was a criticism sublimated with genius. The affiliation between his verse form and his theme has deservedly received the admiration of succeeding ages. There is no more haste in Spenser's stanza than in his story. Together they move onward with the scarcely perceptible motion of a great river. It "is spacious and exceeding wide," as he says of his own work, susceptible of each elaboration of his "fine filed" phrase, capable of conveying his every thought. With stately dignity it sounds the loftiest praise; with calm gravity it imparts his moral precepts; with melting harmony it depicts his most voluptuous scenes. Spenser's theme was one of praise, love, and adventure, the same sung or recited by gleemen in the age it represents. His verse was born in an echoing memory of harmony. It was executed with an ever conscious musical cadence and quaintness of phrase that re-created the glamor of the troubadour's tale.

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## MARK AKENSIDE, PROPHET OF EVOLUTION

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In Mark Akenside's longest and best-known poem, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, is this passage:

He [God] now is good,  
He ever was. The feet of hoary Time  
Through their eternal course have travell'd o'er  
No speechless, lifeless desert; but through scenes  
Cheerful with bounty still; among a pomp  
Of worlds, for gladness round the Maker's throne  
Loud-shouting, or, in many dialects  
Of hope and filial trust, imploring thence  
The fortunes of their people: where so fix'd  
Were all the dates of being, so dispos'd  
To every living soul of every kind  
The field of motion and the hour of rest,  
That each the general happiness might serve;  
And, by the discipline of laws divine  
Convinc'd of folly or chastis'd from guilt,  
Each might at length be happy. What remains  
Shall be like what is pass'd; but fairer still,  
And still increasing in the god-like gifts  
Of Life and Truth. The same paternal hand,  
From the mute shell-fish gasping on the shore,  
To men, to angels, to celestial minds,  
Will ever lead the generations on  
Through higher scenes of being; while, supplied  
From day to day by his enlivening breath,  
Inferior orders in succession rise  
To fill the void below. As flame ascends,  
As vapors to the earth in showers return,  
As the pois'd ocean toward the attracting moon  
Swell, and the ever-listening planets charm'd  
By the sun's call their onward pace incline,  
So all things which have life aspire to God,  
Exhaustless fount of intellectual day!  
Center of souls! Nor doth the mastering voice  
Of Nature cease within to prompt aright  
Their steps; nor is the care of Heaven withheld

From sending to the toil external aid;  
That in their station all may persevere  
To climb the ascent of being, and approach  
For ever nearer to the Life divine.<sup>1</sup>

At first sight the ideas of these lines do not seem especially remarkable. Plenty of writers in Akenside's time and earlier had said that all life aspires to God. But when the lines are looked at more closely it becomes apparent that here is a completely new turn to the idea.

The eighteenth-century thought of the forms of life as being arranged in one great ascending scale—every species of animal or plant was between two other species. The highest plant was directly below the lowest animal. The ape was directly above the smaller monkeys and directly below man. No two species could be equal to each other in the scale; each was in a place by itself, a little higher or a little lower than any other species. We today have outgrown this too simplified system, and think of the forms of life as making each a branch or twig of a great family tree. Species are not necessarily above or below one another, according to the way we think of them today; they are rather brothers and sisters, or cousins, or aunts and uncles, or of course parents. But the older idea of a "scale of being" was almost universal in the eighteenth century; and Akenside assumed it in his lines.

Practically everyone of Akenside's time—except Buffon in France—believed that the scale of being was fixed.<sup>2</sup> A monkey was created fixed in one step of the scale, and to all eternity remained there—never could climb out. God may have created the higher animals *after* the lower, to be sure. But once created they stuck where they were in the scale. Each species was separately created to fill its step in the scale. And that any animal or plant should have the power or presumption to climb up a step or two was to most people unthinkable.

<sup>1</sup> Revised version of 1757; Book II, ll. 239 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Expressions of this belief abound in the poetry and prose of the time. For example:

"Far as creation's ample range extends,  
The scale of sensual, mental powers ascends.  
How instinct varies in the grovelling swine,  
Compared, half-reas'ning elephant, with thine!  
'Twixt that and reason what a nice barrier!  
For ever separate, yet for ever near!"

—Pope, *Essay on Man*, Epistle I, Sec. VII.

Cf., also, Edward Young, *Night Thoughts*, Book I, ll. 74–75; James Beattie, *Elements of Moral Science*, Book II, Part III, p. 98; Thomas Blacklock, *An Hymn to Divine Love*.

Akenside's lines depart completely from this orthodox way of looking at the scale of being:

That in their stations all may persevere  
To climb the ascent of being.

The "mute shell-fish gasping on the shore" is not fixed in its station, but can climb out of it. The ape is not fixed an ape forever, through all its generations; it may transcend the boundaries of its species and become—something higher.

Given a scale of being, though, what would inevitably happen if all things were climbing up the scale? Logic says that unless something filled up the bottom there soon would be no bottom left. If the mute shell-fish starts climbing up the scale, how could it be possible, after a while, that any more shell-fish should exist? Perhaps some lower form of life would climb up to the stage of the shell-fish. Well and good; but pretty soon all lower forms of life would get past the shell-fish stage. And then what? Akenside, interestingly enough, saw the difficulty and tried to provide a solution. His solution perhaps seems a bit vague to us today:

Supplied  
From day to day by his enlivening breath  
Inferior orders in succession rise  
To fill the void below.

The vagueness disappears, though, to anyone who knows what the eighteenth century believed about spontaneous generation. Almost everyone then believed that the lowest plants and animals came to life spontaneously from rotting animal or vegetable matter.<sup>1</sup> Akenside used this common belief, which he held with the rest of his contemporaries, to solve his difficulty. And granting the existence of a scale of being, how else could the problem be solved, unless it could be assumed that all forms of life today are comparatively high in the scale of being, an assumption which, so far as I am aware, nobody has ever had the hardihood to make?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Abiogenesis," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Neither Akenside nor anyone else until the early nineteenth century seems to have thought through the discrepancy between a belief that the lowest animal life is spontaneously generated and a belief that the animal kingdom is higher than the vegetable kingdom.

The center and cause of evolution, as Akenside describes it, is a purposive force within organisms themselves, divinely implanted in them:

Nor doth the mastering voice  
Of Nature cease within to prompt aright  
Their steps. . . .

The nineteenth century reacted against this idea of a purposive force in evolution, and emphasized the effect of environment and the struggle for existence.

But Akenside does not neglect the influence of environment either:

Nor is the care of Heaven withheld  
From sending to the toil external aid.

"External aid" can mean only one thing— aid from the environment. This last deduction may seem dubious; but I feel sure I am not unjustifiably reading anything into Akenside's lines. Perhaps this will become clearer further on in my discussion.

The principle of an internal force toward greater complexity of development, aided by external forces in the environment, is precisely what most believers in evolution, except a few extremists, still hold to.

Akenside has, then, considering the short space he spends in describing it, an amazingly complete system of evolutionary progress. The system can, quite naturally, be attacked from many directions by critics with a knowledge of nineteenth- and twentieth-century science. Any evolutionary system based on a scale of being can. But Akenside has done his best to furnish armor for his system.

Akenside implies the same evolutionary system in other passages of the *Pleasures of the Imagination*<sup>1</sup> and in one or two stanzas of his *Hymn to Science*. But he never explained the system fully, either in verse or prose.

Several questions, then, arise. One question is, Did Akenside himself recognize that he was putting forward a new and important idea? A note he appended, in the earlier version of the *Pleasures of the Imagination* (1744), to the passage we are considering, shows that he did: "This opinion, though not held by Plato nor any of the ancients,

<sup>1</sup> Book I, ll. 442 ff. in the earlier version, ll. 517 ff. in the later; Book I, ll. 163 ff. in the earlier version (the sense is changed in the later version); Book I, ll. 513 ff. in the earlier version, l. 569 in the later.

is yet a very natural consequence of his principles. But the disquisition is too complex and extensive to be entered upon here."

Another question is, Has this idea of Akenside's any significance except as a wild flight of poetic fancy which happened to hit near the truth? I think it has. Akenside was not simply a poet writing from his ivory tower about science. He knew the science of his time, for he was a physician, a well-trained physician, as well as a poet.

Still another question is, Did Akenside as a physician help Akenside as a poet in formulating the system? The answer to this question will take us more into details. In the same year that he first published his *Pleasures of the Imagination*, 1744, Akenside obtained his degree of M.D. at Leyden, and, according to the custom, wrote an inaugural dissertation in Latin. It is entitled *De Ortu et Incremento Foetus Humani*.<sup>1</sup> It was published in May, 1744, but has almost completely sunk into oblivion, like many such dissertations, except for brief mention in encyclopedias under Akenside's name. The book is very rare. There is a copy in the surgeon general's library in Washington, and another in the British Museum.

Akenside's biographers and critics have almost nothing to say about this dissertation. Evidently, from the remarks of various biographical dictionaries,<sup>2</sup> some critic once went over the book and said that Akenside opposed the doctrines of Leeuwenhoeck with plausibility, and reacted in the direction of more modern beliefs; and writers since then have repeated this comment without going to the treatise itself. A re-survey of the original dissertation is of decided interest.

Akenside's dissertation is a treatise on the principles of generation—we should now call it a treatise on embryology. And to understand

<sup>1</sup> "Dissertatio medica/Inauguralis/de Ortu et Incremento/Foetus Humanl./Quam/ Annuente Deo ter opt. max./Ex Auctoritate Magnifici Rectoris,/D. Johannis van den Honert, T. H. Fili./S. S. Theologiae Doctoris, eiusdemque Facultatis, nec non/ Histor. Eccles. in Acad. Lugd. Bat. Professoris Ordina-/rii, Ecclesiaeque Leidensis Pastoris;/ nec non/Amplissimi Senatus Academici Consensa,/ & Nobilissimae Facultatis Medicae Decreto,/ Pro Gradu Doctoratus,/Summisque in Medicina Honoribus, & Privilegiis,/ rite ac legitime consequendis./ Eruditorum Examini submittit/ Marcus Akenside, Anglus./ Ad diem 16. Maii, 1744, hora locoque solitis./ Lugduni Batavorum,/Apud Gerardum Potvliet, 1744." 27 pp., 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> Such as *Dictionary of National Biography*; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; *Allibone's Dictionary of Authors*; *Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary*; etc.

Samuel Johnson (Memoir in Bell's *British Poets*, 1807), A. Dyce (Memoir in Aldine Poets ed. of Akenside), Charles Bucke (*On the Life, Writings, and Genius of Akenside*, 1832), and Otto Bundt ("Akensides Leben und Werke, etc.," *Anglia*, XX, 1 and 467; XXI, 89) are equally reticent.

Akenside's point of view it is necessary to know something of eighteenth-century beliefs and doctrines on this subject. There were two theories of generation: one considered in Akenside's time out of date, the other almost universally believed in.

The theory then considered out of date was the theory of epigenesis. William Harvey published in 1651 a book called *De Generatione Animalium*, in which he uttered the famous dictum, "*ab ovo omnia*," and elaborated his theory of generation. Harvey believed that the egg of any animal is fertilized by an undefined force from the male, which he calls a "contagion"; and that after fertilization, the young animal develops by forming from the raw materials of its nourishment the various parts of its body. This theory of generation he called epigenesis.<sup>1</sup>

The theory almost universally held in Akenside's time was the theory of preformation.<sup>2</sup> Already in Harvey's time some thinkers opposed Harvey's views and believed that the egg contains a preformed animal within it. But the most important opposition to Harvey came in 1677, when Leeuwenhoeck, one of the earliest experimenters with the microscope, announced to the world his important discovery of spermatozoa.<sup>3</sup> Naturally, scientists turned to this new discovery for a better explanation of the process of generation; and Leeuwenhoeck was a preformationist, believing that the spermatozoön contains the preformed animal. Together, then, the "ovists," who had originally opposed Harvey, and the "spermists," who followed Leeuwenhoeck's beliefs, elaborated one of the most curious theories ever accepted by the majority of scientists for a whole century. According to the preformationists, in the egg or spermatozoön is contained, infinitely small, the whole animal, with all its parts. And the process of development from fertilization to maturity consists simply in the unfolding and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Harvey, *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium* (1651 ed.), p. 184, especially Ex. XLXX, "*Causa Pulli Efficiens, inquisitu ardua*."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Epigenesis," *New International Encyclopedia*: "Before the rise of modern embryology the ablest, most sagacious biologists and philosophers were evolutionists, i.e., preformationists." The most influential defenders of preformation were Albrecht von Haller and Charles Bonnet. The preformation theory was called also "evolution." More critics than one have mired themselves by failing to realize that "evolution" in the eighteenth century meant the preformation theory, not evolution in the more modern sense of the word. In the body of this discussion I, of course, use the word "evolution" in its modern sense.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, for December, 1677.



expanding of that minute preformed animal. As Richard Blackmore put it in his poem *Creation*:

Each vital speck, in which remains  
Th' entire, but rump'd animal, contains  
Organs perplex, and clues of twining veins.<sup>1</sup>

So far the theory does not sound impossible. But following out the logic of the theory leads to astounding results. If a male animal, for example, existed wholly formed within the spermatozoön of his father, where was he when his father was pre-existing inside his grandfather? Logically, if the father were wholly formed when inside the spermatozoön, then his son was already wholly formed within him. Therefore in the body of the grandfather must have pre-existed, minute but wholly formed, both the body of the father and within it the body of the son. Carrying on the chain of reasoning leads to the conclusion that within each animal created in the beginning of time were all that animal's descendants to the end of time, each wholly formed! As Henry Baker, a minor poet and naturalist of the eighteenth century, put it:

So Adam's loins contained his large posterity,  
All people that have been, and all that e'er shall be.<sup>2</sup>

Scientists of the eighteenth century seem to have had the courage of their convictions, for they actually held and defended this position, and not until the nineteenth century was the doctrine of preformation finally exploded. We all today think of generation and development in terms of epigenesis, though of course not the exact sort of epigenesis Harvey described.

One very important implication of the preformation theory must be noticed. If all animals were preformed in the body of the first animal ever created, what chance is there for any evolution of species? Take the first "mute shell-fish" ever created: if inside that aboriginal shell-fish already exist its descendants of ten million generations in the future, there is no chance for any change in species during those ten million generations. At least, the only change which could take place would be one foreordained from the beginning of time. Even assum-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, Book VI (1712 ed.), p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Baker, *The Universe* (1728 ed.), p. 22. The relations between this idea and the Calvinistic doctrine that "in Adam's fall we sinned all" are worth more development than I can give them here.

ing this latter possibility of change, there could be no effect whatsoever from the environment producing a change—everything would necessarily have been settled at the beginning of time. According to the theory of epigenesis, on the other hand, each individual exists at its conception only as a spark of life, and this spark of life builds up a new body for itself. So, since the individual is not preformed, there may be countless influences from the environment and from the parents, tending to change the individual and its descendants, at or after the time of conception. In other words, the way is open for an evolution of species.

The doctrine of preformation, then, had to be exploded before modern ideas of evolution could make headway. And a glance at the beliefs of such eighteenth-century prophets of evolution as Buffon and Erasmus Darwin shows that they both reacted away from preformation, back to the idea of epigenesis.<sup>1</sup>

Here is where the importance of Akenside's doctoral dissertation lies. The dissertation is mainly an argument against Leeuwenhoeck's doctrines of preformation, and a defense of Harvey's doctrines of epigenesis. Akenside's conclusions are sufficiently clear from the following passages:

Corpori ergo non coeva sunt, neque ingenita.<sup>2</sup>

(Body therefore does not possess coeval or inborn things.)

Atque ex his tandem comparatis omnibus, firma satis ratione demonstratum videtur, non dari illa animalcula.

Quod ad particulas illas agiles quas in humore seminale vidisse ipsos affirmarunt viri complures fide dignissimi, illas equidem dubitare non licet. Hoc tamen apprimè notandum est, quod nisi in semine largissima aquae proportionè diluto nullius oculis occurrerunt unquam. Jure ergo videatur, haec seminalia corpuscula vel mistura et actione aquae in motum vindicari, vel revera propria esse aquae.<sup>3</sup>

(And from all these comparisons finally, it seems to be sufficiently demonstrated by sure reasoning, that these animalcules [i.e., the spermatozoa] are not produced.

(As for those agile particles which many men most worthy of trust affirm they have themselves seen in seminal humour, to be sure their existence cannot be doubted. But first this must be noted, that except in semen diluted

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Erasmus Darwin, *Zoonomia*, chap. xxxix, "On Generation," for explanations of both Darwin's and Buffon's theories of generation. Cf., also, for Buffon's theory, Buffon, *General History of Animals* (trans., William Smellie; London, 1866), chaps. iv-viii, inc.

<sup>2</sup> *De Ortu*, par. xxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

with a large proportion of water they have never been visible to anybody. Therefore it would surely seem that these seminal corpuscles either are liberated into motion by the mixture and action of the water, or are truly properties of the water.)

From these statements it is clear that Akenside did not believe that spermatozoa (*illa animalcula*) contain the preformed animal. Also, from the second statement, it is clear that he went too far in his reaction, since he asserts that the spermatozoa do not have any function in fertilization. He maintains that a divine influence enters into the process:

Nullam scil. semini masculino inesse facultatem qua corpus animale, solo congressu cum ovo faemino, producere valet; sed lege divina sancitum esse, ut quotiescunque talis fieret congressus, omniparens rerum conditor suam semper adhiberet potentiam qua, pro integritate universi ordinis, corporis humani compages paulatim effingeretur, motoris anima functionibus inservitura.<sup>1</sup>

(That, to be sure, no faculty exists in male semen by which it can produce the animal body, merely by a meeting with the female egg; but by divine law it is confirmed, that as often as such a meeting is effected, the all-producing father of things always bestows his power by which, for the integrity of the universal order, the structure of the human body is formed gradually, and the breath of life will serve the functions of the Mover.)

Here Akenside simply went backward to Harvey, and denied what we now know to be fact. Akenside's argument is entirely speculative also—not founded on experimental data. But the important fact is that he did react against preformation, and in favor of epigenesis.

We can now swing the circle back to the *Pleasures of the Imagination*. If Akenside as a poet conceived of any system resembling our modern idea of evolution, we should expect him, as a scientist, to disbelieve in preformation. And he does. All the other eighteenth-century prophets of evolution did, also. And ninety-nine scientists out of a hundred in Akenside's day did not.

A comparison between the earlier and the later versions of the *Pleasures of the Imagination* gives an interesting probability as to the direct effect on Akenside's poetry of his scientific reasoning. In 1744,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

while he was working at his Doctor's thesis, he wrote these lines in the passage we have been discussing from the *Pleasures of the Imagination*:

Nor is the care of Heaven withheld  
From granting to the task proportioned aid.

Thirteen years later, when the revised version of the poem was published, this passage reads:

Nor is the care of Heaven withheld  
From sending to the toil external aid.

Akenside, at the time of the earlier version of the poem, defended epigenesis in his doctoral dissertation. The theory of epigenesis leaves the way entirely clear for a recognition of the effects of environment; the theory of preformation will not admit any such recognition. Probably Akenside had not, in 1744, perceived clearly the relation between the theory of epigenesis and a theory of "external aid" for animals climbing the ascent of being. Did he, in the years between this version and the time when he made his revision, come to see this relation more clearly, and he did thereupon make the change in these lines? The question will always remain a question, I suppose. But I think he did.

We have arrived, then, at answers to the three questions which suggested themselves concerning the significance of Akenside's evolutionary system. Akenside is consistent as a scientist with the system he outlines in his poetry. He does not write simply as a poet. And he did realize that he was in the lines expressing a new and important idea. Where he got his system I do not know, even after considerable search for a source. Perhaps he found the germs of the idea in some other writer; perhaps he worked it out for himself. I incline to the latter possibility. His theory is purely speculative, is based on the old theory of a scale of being, had as far as I can see no influence on later evolutionary thinkers, and is now, of course, completely out of date. But Akenside, even if he saw only dimly, did see the truth, more of the truth than any other Englishman up to the time of Erasmus Darwin, and did realize something of its importance. He should have his small niche at the hall of fame in whose center is the figure of Charles Darwin.

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## THE SOURCES AND BASIC MODEL OF LESSING'S MISS SARA SAMPSON<sup>1</sup>

Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755), the first eighteenth-century German domestic tragedy (*bürgerliches Trauerspiel*), is commonly supposed to have been modeled on George Lillo's *The London Merchant* (1731).<sup>2</sup> Even its material is regarded by perhaps the majority of the writers on Lessing as derived in large part from the English play, the prevailing view being that the plot is a fusion of the leading motifs of *The London Merchant* and Richardson's *Clarissa* (1747-48).<sup>3</sup> Other theories in respect to the sources of the German domestic tragedy are that it is primarily a modernization of the Medea theme;<sup>4</sup> that it is a dramatization of the life of Jonathan Swift;<sup>5</sup> that it is a mosaic constructed from fragments taken from about eighty literary works (including *The London Merchant* and *Clarissa*);<sup>6</sup> that much of its important material was derived from Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749);<sup>7</sup> that it may have been suggested by one of the love triangles in Congreve's *The Way of the World* (1700) but should be regarded as practically original in plot.<sup>8</sup> All the writers, however, whether or not they regard

<sup>1</sup> This article is a condensation of a portion of a dissertation (University of Chicago)—*The Influence of English Drama on the Plays of Lessing*.

<sup>2</sup> See the studies cited in the other footnotes to this paragraph. Cf. also Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 1700-1750* (Cambridge, Eng., 1925), p. 120; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed., Cambridge, Eng., 1910-11), XVI, 497; G. H. Nettleton, *English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1914), p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Th. W. Danzel and G. E. Guhrauer, *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1880), I, 305-9; Gustaf Kettner, *Lessings Dramen im Lichte ihrer und unserer Zeit* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 178-82; John Block, *Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht*, XVIII (1904), 230; Waldemar Oehlke, *Lessing und seine Zeit* (Munich, 1919), I, 291 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Scherer, "Gotthold Ephraim Lessing," *Deutsche Rundschau*, XXVI (Jan.-Mar., 1881), 279-80; Erich Schmidt, *Lessing: Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Schriften* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1899), I, 270-82.

<sup>5</sup> J. Caro, *Lessing und Swift* (Jena, 1869), pp. 70-77.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Albrecht, *Lessings Plagiate* (Hamburg, 1888-91), I, 74, and IV-VI, 1872-2494. Albrecht (I, 74) maintains that the main sources of *Miss Sara Sampson* are Molière's *Don Juan*, Euripides' *Medea*, Seneca's *Medea*, Cornelle's *Médée*, Lillo's *The London Merchant*, and Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison* and *Clarissa*. Though he cites several passages from Thomas Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia* and Charles Johnson's *Caelia* as parallelisms, he does not include these two English dramas in his list of important sources.

<sup>7</sup> C. H. Clark, *Fielding und der deutsche Sturm und Drang* (Freiburg dissertation; Freiburg, 1897), pp. 98-100.

<sup>8</sup> Josef Caro, "Lessing und die Engländer," *Euphorion*, VI (1899), 475-77.

*The London Merchant* as a principal source, seem to assume that Lessing used Lillo's domestic tragedy as a model.

None of the above-mentioned theories is correct. They have little more to commend them than the fact that *Miss Sara Sampson* resembles its supposed sources and model in several conventional features, such as the seduction theme, the love triangle, and lachrymosity.<sup>1</sup> Evidence will be presented in this paper showing that the main sources of Lessing's epoch-making drama are Thomas Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia*, Charles Johnson's *Caelia*, and Mrs. Susanna Centlivre's *The Perjur'd Husband*, and that, if any one play may be regarded as its model, the distinction belongs, not to *The London Merchant*, but to Johnson's *Caelia*. In other words, the influence of Lillo in Germany and, consequently, in other parts of the continent of Europe has been greatly overestimated.

#### THE SOURCE OF THE PLOT OUTLINE

The general outline of the plot, the principal characters, and many of the details of *Miss Sara Sampson* are found in Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia*, a Restoration comedy.<sup>2</sup>

Among the changes involved in Lessing's utilization of Shadwell's material is the use of a tragic ending and, consequently, an exclusion of all comic features. This is in harmony with the German dramatist's declaration in 1766 that any material can be treated either comically or tragically.<sup>3</sup> When he made this assertion, he probably had the case of *Miss Sara Sampson* in mind. Moreover, the Lucia episode in *The Squire of Alsatia* from the viewpoint of the girl herself is already tragic. The Isabella story is really tragi-comedy. When Mrs. Ter-

<sup>1</sup> These theories are discussed in detail in my dissertation.

<sup>2</sup> Lessing seems to have been well read in Shadwell. The undated sketch *Die Wütslinge* (about 1748?) is based on *Bury Fair* (cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 129). The use of the uncommon names *Blunt* and *Triffel* (obviously the Germanized form of English "Trifle") in *Die Wütslinge* and the sketch *Der gute Mann* (not later than 1753) implies that he knew *The Volunteers* (1692) and *The Virtuoso* (1676). He studied Shadwell probably as early as 1747, for his *Damon* (1747) seems to be based chiefly on an episode from *Bury Fair* involving the rivalry of Bellamy and Wildish, two bosom friends, for the hand of Gertrude. My dissertation presents detailed evidence. In a letter dated June 9, 1768, Lessing asked his brother Karl to send him "Theile vom Johnson, vom Cibber und vom Shadwell."

<sup>3</sup> "Mein Bruder," says Karl Lessing in the *Theatralische Nachlass*, I, XV, "behauptete, man könne aus allem eine Komödie oder Tragödie machen, indem es mehr auf die Bearbeitung des Stoffs als auf den Stoff selbst ankäme" (*Lessings Werke* [ed., R. Boxberger; Berlin and Stuttgart, 1883 ff.], III<sup>2</sup>, 238).



magant makes her attempt to shoot Belfond Junior, a fatal ending is obviated only by the accidental failure of the pistol to explode.<sup>1</sup>

A second important change made by Lessing is the simplification and unification of Shadwell's plot. He maintained that the average English comedy, if appropriated for the German stage, would have to be simplified.<sup>2</sup> This procedure was his regular practice when he borrowed material from a complicated English play.<sup>3</sup> In the present instance he used two portions of the minor plot of *The Squire of Alsatia*. For the sake of convenience, these may be designated as the Lucia and the Isabella motifs. The former involves the seduction of Lucia by Belfond Junior and the consequent jealousy of Mrs. Termagant, his discarded mistress; the latter consists of the attempt of Mrs. Termagant to frustrate Belfond's marriage to Isabella and to take revenge on him. Though Belfond and Mrs. Termagant figure as characters in both triangles, the only connection between the two motifs in respect to the action is that the young man, in order to marry Isabella, must give up Lucia as a mistress. The seduction motif is well disposed of at the beginning of Act IV, whereas most of the Isabella story comes after that point. The last third of the play contains nothing of the Lucia story except the short scene informing the spectator that the attorney is willing to take back his daughter. During this portion of the drama the minor plot is concerned chiefly with Mrs. Termagant's attempt to prevent Belfond's marriage to Isabella.

Lessing evidently wished to bring about unity of action without sacrificing either the pathetic Lucia or the interesting Mrs. Termagant. If he had omitted the seduction motif, or, in other words, had used the rôle of Isabella in drafting his heroine, he would have had merely a

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that Jakob Dusch in 1758 mentioned as one of his criticisms of *Miss Sara Sampson*, "dass sehr oft das Komische herdurch siehet" (*Vermischte Kritische und Satyrische Schriften*, in *Lessing im Urtheile seiner Zeitgenossen* [ed., Julius W. Braun; Berlin, 1884], I, 71). Since Dusch had no occasion to suspect that Lessing's domestic tragedy was based on a comedy, his remark is significant.

<sup>2</sup> "Wir lieben einen einfältigen Plan, der sich auf einmal übersehen lässt. So wie die Engländer die französischen Stücke mit Episoden erst volltropfen müssen, wenn sie auf ihrer Bühne gefallen sollen; so müssten wir die englischen Stücke von ihren Episoden erst entladen, wenn wir unsere Bühne glücklich damit bereichern wollten" (*Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, No. 12). *Gotthold Ephraim Lessings sämtliche Schriften* (originally edited by Karl Lachmann, 3d [rev.] ed. by Franz Muncker; Stuttgart, 1886 ff.), IX, 234. Hereafter references to this edition of Lessing's works will be indicated merely by the names of the editors, thus: Lachmann-Muncker.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the sketch *Der Leichtgläubige*, based on the minor plot of Wycherley's *The Country Wife*. Lachmann-Muncker, III, 252-55. For other instances see my dissertation.

simple love triangle, with Mrs. Termagant as the obstacle to the marriage of hero and heroine. If he had confined himself to the seduction motif, Mellefont-Belfond would have been the villain, and Marwood-Mrs. Termagant would have been only a subordinate character or entirely superfluous. Since Belfond and Mrs. Termagant appear in both triangles, he was able to weld the two motifs together by having Sara-Lucia absorb the rôle of Isabella. Mellefont-Belfond, instead of leaving Sara-Lucia in order to marry another girl (Isabella), is forgiven by Sir William Sampson and consents to marry Sara-Lucia herself.<sup>1</sup>

By thus combining the Lucia and the Isabella stories of *The Squire of Alsatia* and making the ending tragic, we obtain the outline of Lessing's plot. A libertine seduces an innocent young girl. A former mistress of the man seeks to regain his love, and, in order to separate him from the hated rival, informs the girl's father of the state of affairs. The result is the opposite of what she expected: The father forgives the wayward lovers, and the libertine consents to marry the girl. The jealous mistress, by revealing the man's past life, attempts to make him repulsive to the bride-to-be, but her plan fails. Furious over her defeat, the mistress slays her rival. About the first half of Lessing's play represents the Lucia story, and the remainder the Isabella material. The action centers around three major scenes: the conversation between Sara and Mellefont in Act I, based on the corresponding dialogue between Lucia and Belfond in Acts II and IV of *The Squire of Alsatia*; the contest between Mellefont and Marwood in Act II, based on a similar scene between Belfond and Mrs. Termagant in Act II of Shadwell's play; and the meeting of Marwood and Sara in Act IV, based on the scene between Mrs. Termagant and Isabella in Act IV of the English comedy.

The fusion of these two motives gave *Miss Sara Sampson* its peculiar structure. As has been pointed out by critics,<sup>2</sup> the catastrophe is not the result of the original complication, but is brought about by

<sup>1</sup> Other cases in which Lessing fused two characters are in Phillis (*Die Witzlinge*), a combination of Bellamy and Wildish in Shadwell's *Bury Fair*, and in Hilaria (*Der Misogyn*), a combination of Constantia and Angelica in Lansdowne's *The She-Gallants*. For the evidence see my dissertation.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hermann Hettner, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (*Literaturgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Part III) (6th ed.; Braunschweig, 1913), II, 465.

a *deus ex machina*. The drama opens with the seduction motif, the obstacles to Sara's happiness being her estrangement from her father and the unwillingness of Mellefont to submit to the marriage ceremony. The interference of Marwood (which at first represents Mrs. Termagant's jealousy of Lucia, and later the desperate attempt of the mistress to frustrate Belfond's marriage to Isabella) is introduced at the end of Act I as a new complication. The latter complication eliminates the first by resolving it. Marwood's information to Sara's father results, not in the separation of the lovers, but in Sir William's offer to accept Mellefont as his son-in-law; and her efforts with Mellefont merely induce him, through fear of losing Sara, to agree to the marriage rite. In the last two acts the first complication is entirely displaced by the second. The seduction theme disappears and Marwood, in order to prevent the happy union of Sara and Mellefont, brings on the catastrophe. Sara perishes not because she has sinned, but because she has a rival. Even if she had not been seduced by Mellefont, the girl was to have been slain by Marwood.

The contention that the plot of *Miss Sara Sampson* is based on the material of the Lucia and the Isabella stories of *The Squire of Alsatia* is substantiated by abundant detail in both action and characterization. This can be best presented by a consideration of the three major characters of Lessing's play—Sara (Lucia *plus* Isabella), Marwood (Mrs. Termagant), and Mellefont (Belfond Junior).

Sara, like Lucia, is an innocent girl who falls in love with an attractive, good-natured libertine and is seduced by him. Neither of the girls has brothers or sisters.<sup>1</sup> Both flee from their homes because their fathers would separate them from their lovers; both later obtain forgiveness. Sara, like Lucia, is the soft, passive, pining, self-accusing girl—the clinging-vine type of female character. Her grief over her lapse from virtue, her love for her seducer, and her constant misgiving that after all he may not be sincere<sup>2</sup>—all this is strikingly similar to the pathetic dialogue between Lucia and Belfond.<sup>3</sup> Mellefont's excuse for delaying the marriage ceremony because of the

<sup>1</sup> *Miss Sara Sampson*, II, iv; Lachman-Muncker, II, 291.

*The Squire of Alsatia*, IV, ii, p. 75. In this article all page numbers referring to *The Squire of Alsatia* apply to the following edition: *The Works of Thomas Shadwell, Esq.* (London, 1720), Vol. IV.

<sup>2</sup> Act I.

<sup>3</sup> IV, i.

legacy is taken from Mrs. Termagant's story to Isabella, Lessing using it for both Sara and Marwood.

Marwood clearly shows her likeness to Shadwell's Mrs. Termagant. Like her prototype, she is a jealous discarded mistress and serves as the villain. She likewise at first attempts to win back her former lover. To separate Sara from Mellefont, Marwood reports the girl's hiding place to the father, just as for the same purpose Mrs. Termagant tells the attorney of his daughter's guilt and promises not to publish the scandal if he will confine Lucia from Belfond. Marwood, like Mrs. Termagant, has a young daughter by Mellefont-Belfond and uses the child to soften the father's heart. Both have lost their virtue before meeting Mellefont and Belfond, but thereafter are faithful to these men. Both women by means of clever contrivances succeed in getting into the presence of their hated rivals; both blacken the characters of the men and present themselves in as favorable a light as possible; in their accusations both speak both truth and falsehood. Both say that they came from good families and inherited moderate estates; that they had many and noble wooers; that they accepted Mellefont and Belfond only after earnest and aggressive courtships; and that the successful suitors promised marriage but delayed the ceremony because of legacies. Both are clever actors. Mrs. Termagant is actually called such by Belfond: "She is a rare Actor: She acts a Fit of the Mother the best of any one in England."<sup>1</sup> Marwood herself several times calls attention to her posing, as: "Bin ich allein?—Kann ich unbemerkt einmal Athem schöpfen, und die Muskeln des Gesichts in ihre natürliche Lage fahren lassen?—Ich muss geschwind einmal in allen Mienen die wahre Marwood seyn, um den Zwang der Verstellung wieder aushalten zu können. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

When they fail to ensnare their paramours again, both mistresses bend all their energies to take bloody vengeance. Both in a fury of angry passion attempt to stab their former lovers with daggers. Both try to slay their rivals; Marwood succeeds, whereas Mrs. Termagant is frustrated. Both threaten to kill their children in the most cruel and horrible manner possible; Mrs. Termagant will "pull" the child "Limb from Limb,"<sup>3</sup> and Marwood vows, "Ich will mit begieriger Hand Glied von Glied, Ader von Ader, Nerve von Nerve lösen."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> II, I, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> IV, v; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 324.

<sup>3</sup> II, I, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> II, vii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 295.

Mellefont also exhibits a close connection with his English prototype. Like Belfond Junior, he is a young nobleman. Belfond is the son of a baronet; Mellefont, though not designated as such, apparently is of the same station, since Marwood in posing as his aunt assumes the title of "Lady." Both are profligates and gamblers. Belfond, according to Mrs. Termagant, frequented a private gambling resort;<sup>1</sup> Mellefont is charged by Norton with having wasted a fortune through his association with gamesters.<sup>2</sup> Both are fashionable libertines. Belfond is "given to Women; but it is in private; and he is particular: No common Whore-Master";<sup>3</sup> Mellefont, likewise, has had illicit associations with various women—namely, Marwood, Miss Oklaff, Miss Dorkas, and Miss Moor—each of whom was his private mistress at some particular time.<sup>4</sup> Both are naturally disinclined toward marriage because it would put them under restraint. Each has an illegitimate daughter by a former mistress.

The desirable characteristics of the two men also are similar. Both are very fond of their daughters, and, though they have difficulty in obtaining possession, have an earnest desire to provide well for them. Both are reformed. Belfond confesses that Isabella has "subdu'd" him "even to Marriage,"<sup>5</sup> just as Mellefont decides to submit to marriage rather than to lose Sara.<sup>6</sup> Belfond gives up all vice for the sake of Isabella, and Mellefont is brought so far by the beneficent influence of Sara that he has pangs of conscience, sheds a tear for the first time since his childhood, and finally even kills himself to atone for his guilt in connection with the girl's death. Both are so chivalrous as to try to take all the guilt upon themselves; Belfond, to his own disparagement, declares that Lucia is innocent,<sup>7</sup> and Mellefont magnanimously insists on telling Sampson that he alone was to blame for Sara's defection.<sup>8</sup>

Two of Lessing's minor characters also should be mentioned in this connection. Arabella, though depicted as several years older and given

<sup>1</sup> IV, v, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> I, iii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 271.

<sup>3</sup> I, i, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> IV, viii; and II, iii. Lachmann-Muncker, II, 333 and 285.

<sup>5</sup> II, i, p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> III, v; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 311.

<sup>7</sup> IV, vi, p. 102.

<sup>8</sup> IV, i; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 315.

a small speaking part, is clearly derived from the illegitimate daughter of Belfond Junior and Mrs. Termagant. Sir William Sampson, although in characterization modeled on Lovemore in Charles Johnson's *Caelia*, has in the acts representing the Lucia story about the same plot function as that of Shadwell's attorney.

Several other striking parallelisms may be observed. Marwood's reflection that a good reputation, rather than virtue itself, is the important thing<sup>1</sup> was presumably inspired by the attorney's remark, in regard to Lucia, that "next to her being innocent, is the concealing of her Shame."<sup>2</sup> Sampson's statement that he would rather be loved by a wayward daughter than not at all, and that such transgressions as Sara's are better than enforced virtue,<sup>3</sup> may be traced directly to Sir Edward's educational philosophy that a father should above all seek to win the love of his son by generosity and indulgence, even to the extent of giving him free rein to sow wild oats.<sup>4</sup> Again, Sampson's defense, at the close of the drama, of Mellefont's character<sup>5</sup> is reminiscent of Sir Edward's defense of Belfond Junior's sexual irregularities.<sup>6</sup> Probably also Marwood's demand, "Nun sagen Sie es noch einmal, ob Sie fest entschlossen sind, mich einer jungen Närrinn aufzuopfern,"<sup>7</sup> was suggested by Mrs. Termagant's question, "For what little dirty Wench am I thus us'd?"<sup>8</sup>

A brief statement of the foregoing argument is now in order. The changes involved in the transformation of the material of *The Squire of Alsatia* into part of *Miss Sara Sampson*—the conversion of a comedy into a tragedy, and the simplification and unification of the plot—are in agreement with Lessing's avowed dramatic principles. If we combine the Lucia and the Isabella stories of *The Squire of Alsatia* by making one character of the two girls, and if we then make the

<sup>1</sup> "Sie [i.e., Tugend] ist ohne ihn [i.e., guten Namen] ein albernes Hirngespinnst, das weder ruhig noch glücklichlich macht. Er allein giebt ihr noch einigen Werth, und kann vollkommen ohne sie bestehen" (II, vii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 294).

<sup>2</sup> V, vi, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> "Solche Vergehungen sind besser, als erzwungene Tugenden, . . . Ich würde doch lieber von einer lasterhaften Tochter, als von keiner, geliebt seyn wollen" (I, i; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 268).

<sup>4</sup> *Dramatis personae*, under "Belfond Junior"; Act I, p. 28; and II, I, pp. 42-45.

<sup>5</sup> "Ach, er war mehr unglücklich, als lasterhaft" (V, x; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 352).

<sup>6</sup> Act I, p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> II, vii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 294.

<sup>8</sup> II, i, p. 39.



ending tragic, we have the outline of the *Miss Sara Sampson* plot. The three major characters of *Miss Sara Sampson*—Sara, Marwood, and Mellefont—have counterparts in Lucia (*plus* Isabella), Mrs. Termagant, and Belfond Junior. Sir William Sampson, the most important of the minor characters, has approximately the same function in a portion of the plot as has the attorney in Shadwell's Lucia story. Arabella is derived from the illegitimate daughter of Mrs. Termagant and Belfond Junior. There are many striking resemblances of detail between the two dramas in both action and characterization.

A few of these points, to be sure, are found also in *Caelia*—a second source of *Miss Sara Sampson*—namely, the seduction, the flight of the girl from her home to live with her lover, the subsequent forgiveness by her father, her passive personality, and the seducer's noble birth. These features, however, are only a small proportion of the material in which the plays of Shadwell and Lessing agree. In other words, the isolating evidence is sufficient in amount and significance to warrant the statement that Lessing derived the outline of his plot, the principal characters, and many details from *The Squire of Alsatia*.<sup>1</sup>

#### SOURCES OF SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Several secondary characters and some minor portions of the action of Lessing's drama were supplied by Charles Johnson's *Caelia*,<sup>2</sup> a sentimental domestic tragedy in prose. The process of combining the *Caelia* features with the material derived from *The Squire of Alsatia* was facilitated by the fact that, as has just been mentioned, the seduction theme and several details used in *Miss Sara Sampson* are common to the two English plays. In fact, *Caelia* has a scene corresponding to the basis of the first of Lessing's three major scenes. In Act I, scene ii, of Johnson's tragedy, as in Act II, scene i, and Act IV, scene i, of Shadwell's comedy, a girl, in the presence of the man by whom she has been seduced, is bewailing her condition. In the following discussion, only the features not occurring in *The Squire of Alsatia* will be cited.

<sup>1</sup> This point will be further discussed after the details from *Caelia* and *The Perjur'd Husband* have been considered.

<sup>2</sup> In the margin of the manuscript of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, Lessing made this notation: "Die Ephesian Matron von Ogilby, v. Cibbers [*The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*] II, 267.—Die Eph. Matr. von Chr. Johnson *vid.* V, 342" (Cf. *Lessings Werke* [ed., R. Boxberger; Berlin and Stuttgart, 1883 ff.], III, 22).

Two secondary characters contributed by *Caelia* are Sir William Sampson and his servant Waitwell. The former, though already suggested by Shadwell's attorney, is almost an exact photograph of Johnson's Lovemore. Like his counterpart, he is an old man, a retiring and somewhat old-fashioned country gentleman, hospitable to his intimate friends and indulgent to his daughter. Both fathers by insisting on a high standard of morality force their daughters to leave home, and afterward freely forgive not only the girls but also the seducers. Both are so sympathetic and emotional that they tearfully yield to their grief. Waitwell, who has no suggestion in *The Squire of Alsatia* except the nameless and entirely conventional servant of Sir William Belfond, is the Meanwell of Johnson's tragedy. He is the faithful old family servant. He shares his master's devotion and sentimentality and has the same function in the action as has Meanwell—to assist a grief-stricken father in seeking and redeeming his wayward daughter.

An important characteristic of Lucia-Caelia-Sara that Lessing probably adopted from *Caelia* is her noble birth. Instead of being, like Lucia, the daughter of a London lawyer, Sara is, like Caelia, the daughter of a country gentleman, a baronet. A point in which the German dramatist definitely follows Johnson is in raising the virtue of his heroine above that of Shadwell's maiden. Sara, like Caelia, surrenders her virginity only on the promise of marriage, whereas Lucia knows that she is nothing but a mistress; again Sara, like Caelia, grieves because of her high moral standards, whereas Lucia's main concern is the fear of being found out. The other Johnson variations which Lessing adopts for the character of Sara are in themselves less important, but for that very reason especially significant in showing that the German dramatist utilized *Caelia*. Whereas Lucia leaves home during the course of the drama, Caelia and Sara have been living in hiding for two months before the opening of the action. The time corresponds exactly; Johnson says, "This very Day, two Months,"<sup>1</sup> and Lessing, "Die neunte Woche fängt heute an."<sup>2</sup> The mothers of Caelia and of Sara are dead, whereas Lucia's mother is living; but

<sup>1</sup> I, I, p. 3. In this article all page numbers in references to *Caelia* apply to the original edition: *Caelia: or, The Perjur'd Lover*, London, 1733.

<sup>2</sup> I, vii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 273.

herein Lessing makes an additional change, in that Sara's dies at the child's birth, whereas Caelia's dies of grief over the daughter's defection.<sup>1</sup>

The account of the meeting of Sara and Mellefont in *Miss Sara Sampson* is practically identical with the exposition in *Caelia*. Johnson has Meanwell say:

Seven Months are past since this Mr. Wronglove return'd from Italy, where my young Master, Caelia's Brother, dy'd—They were inseparable Companions—Mr. Wronglove had the care of his Affairs, and brought his Papers to Clareville, where he was look'd upon by my Master, as his Son's dearest Friend—therefore he wish'd him well, and receiv'd, and entertain'd him; as you know he does all Friends—with an open Heart. . . . Caelia's Behaviour to this Mr. Wronglove, her Brother's Friend, and Father's Guest, was, at first, such only as became her Education and her Manners: What Witchcraft this dishonest young Man had in his Talk, how wickedly, how inhospitably, he improv'd his Opportunities: how he betray'd her; the deplorable Misfortune, the Infamy he hath brought on the Family, can better tell you, than any Words which I can utter.<sup>2</sup>

Lessing gives the equivalent of this to Sir William Sampson:

Ich verstattete ihm, wegen einer Verbindlichkeit, die ich gegen ihn zu haben glaubte, einen allzufreyen Zutritt in meinem Hause. Es war natürlich, dass ihm die dankbare Aufmerksamkeit, die ich für ihn bezeugte, auch die Achtung meiner Tochter zuziehen musste. Und es war ebenso natürlich, dass sich ein Mensch von seiner Denkungsart durch diese Achtung verleiten liess, sie zu etwas Höherm zu treiben. Er hatte Geschicklichkeit genug gehabt, sie in Liebe zu verwandeln, ehe ich noch das geringste merkte, und ehe ich noch Zeit hatte, mich nach seiner übrigen Lebensart zu erkundigen. Das Unglück war geschehen. . . .<sup>3</sup>

The letter-writing between father and daughter in *Miss Sara Sampson* also comes from *Caelia*. In both plays the grief-stricken father writes a letter to the wayward daughter saying that he forgives her and proposes a reconciliation with her seducer on condition that the young man marry her. In both works the trusty old family servant delivers the message. A slight difference is that in Johnson's drama Meanwell, who precedes his master to London, is given the letter before he leaves home, whereas in *Miss Sara Sampson* Waitwell

<sup>1</sup> Norton, who seems to inherit some of his characteristics from Johnson's Bellamy, will be discussed in connection with Centlivre's *The Perjur'd Husband*.

<sup>2</sup> I, 1, pp. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> III, 1; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 299.

does not receive it until Sir William Sampson also has arrived. In both plays the servant, on leaving the girl, promises to return in an hour—in *Caelia* to bring Lovemore and in *Miss Sara Sampson* to get Sara's letter in reply. In the motivation of this letter incident the German dramatist was less successful than his English predecessor. Sir William and his servant have taken rooms at the very inn where Sara and Mellefont are living. Even if Sir William might properly think it expedient to put his message into writing, there is no reason why Sara should not fly immediately to the adjoining room and into her father's arms. The difficulty in Lessing's play is that father and daughter are under the same roof.

Lessing's fifth act appears to have been modeled on the corresponding death scene in *Caelia*. Both scenes are devised to bring the audience to tears. Although the differences in the plot<sup>1</sup> prevent close similarity of details, a few points of like action can be cited. In both plays the fathers then meet their daughters face to face for the first time in the course of the dramas. In both the joy of reconciliation is soon changed to grief. Both heroines suffer mental agony because of their errors. Both freely forgive those by whom they have been wronged. Both die lingering deaths while their loved ones mourn and weep.

Of these parallelisms, three are unusually striking: the characters of Sir William Sampson and Waitwell versus their counterparts, Lovemore and Meanwell, respectively; Sampson's story of the meeting of Sara and Mellefont versus Meanwell's report of Wronglove's seduction of Caelia; Sampson's letter of forgiveness to Sara versus Lovemore's letter to Caelia. The other contributions of *Caelia* discussed above are several characteristics of Sara and several features of the death scene in the German play. About a fourth of Lessing's text represents material borrowed from Johnson. In short, the evidence shows clearly that in the preparation of *Miss Sara Sampson* the German dramatist utilized *Caelia*.

The third important source of *Miss Sara Sampson* is the main plot of Mrs. Centlivre's *The Perjur'd Husband* (1700), a domestic

<sup>1</sup> Due to the material taken from *The Squire of Alsatia* and *The Perjur'd Husband*.

tragedy.<sup>1</sup> The reason for the association of this play with the material taken from *The Squire of Alsatia* is probably the fact that two of its important scenes are somewhat similar to two of Lessing's three major scenes. In the scene between Bassino and Aurelia in Act I of *The Perjur'd Husband*, as in that between Belfond and Mrs. Termagant in Act II of *The Squire of Alsatia* (Act II of *Miss Sara Sampson*), a woman seeks to regain the love of a man who has resolved to part with her. In the scene between Placentia and Aurelia in Act V of *The Perjur'd Husband*, as in that between Mrs. Termagant and Isabella in Act IV of *The Squire of Alsatia* (Act IV of *Miss Sara Sampson*), a woman makes an unsuccessful attempt through a clever artifice to induce her rival to give up the man.

Act IV of *Miss Sara Sampson*, Lessing's climax, shows very strong influences from Centlivre's play. Some features of this scene, to be sure, are to be found in *The Squire of Alsatia*, as when Mrs. Termagant seeks to prejudice Isabella against Belfond Junior by disparaging him as much as possible, part of the story being true and part false. So far Lessing follows Shadwell, but in other respects the scene resembles more closely the end of *The Perjur'd Husband*. Lessing's Marwood, like Mrs. Centlivre's Placentia, comes disguised as a relative of Mellefont-Bassino (Placentia says first that she is Bassino's brother, and later that she is his brother-in-law), whereas Mrs. Termagant, though she resorts to a deception to get in, goes to Isabella's home in her own character. Again, in *The Perjur'd Husband*, as in *Miss Sara Sampson*, the two women are alone, whereas in *The Squire of Alsatia* other characters are present.

Lessing uses the scene for exactly the same technical purpose as does Mrs. Centlivre. In *The Squire of Alsatia* it serves merely to retard the dénouement by bringing in another complication. After Isabella has agreed to the plan of escaping from Scrapeall's house for the marriage ceremony, Mrs. Termagant succeeds in prejudicing the girl

<sup>1</sup> Lessing evidently was well acquainted with Centlivre's plays. He seems to have taken some qualities of Riccaut de la Marliniere in *Minna von Barnhelm* from the Marquess of Hazard in her *The Gamester*. Both impostors pretend to be of royal blood; Riccaut says, "du sang Royal" (IV, ii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 230), and the Marquess of Hazard boasts "of his Royal Blood" (V, ii; 2nd ed., London, 1708, p. 61). Cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, I, 475. The character name Conti in *Emilia Galotti* may also have come from *The Gamester*, inasmuch as the supposed Marquess of Hazard has been a "Footman to the Prince of Conti" (V, ii, London, 1708, p. 61). In 1751 Lessing reviewed a French version of Centlivre's *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* (Lachmann-Muncker, IV, 263).

against her wooer, but the stay is only temporary. The discarded mistress does not kill her rival; in fact, in this scene she does not even attempt to do so. In both *Miss Sara Sampson* and *The Perjur'd Husband*, on the other hand, this scene brings on the catastrophe. Both Marwood and Placentia, after failing to gain sympathy for themselves or to turn their rivals against the men, take the lives of the other women.

Details of the scenes correspond closely. The conversation is opened in the same way, Marwood and Placentia both pretending to be well-wishers and paying flattering compliments to their hated rivals. The latter says:

My Brother, Madam, is extreemly happy  
In being favour'd by so fair a Lady.<sup>1</sup>

Marwood says:

Ich muss um Vergebung bitten, Miss, dass ich so frey bin, mich mit meinen eignen Augen von dem Glücke eines Veters zu überführen, dem ich das vollkommenste Frauenzimmer wünschen würde, wenn mich nicht gleich der erste Anblick überzeugt hätte, dass er es in Ihnen bereits gefunden habe.<sup>2</sup>

The story which Marwood then tells, though the details themselves are partly taken from *The Squire of Alsatia* and partly invented by Lessing, is intended for the same purpose as Placentia's. Both Marwood and Placentia at first seem to succeed in their schemes but in the end merely arouse the resentment and anger of Sara and Aurelia. Sara calls Mellefont's former mistress *eine verhärtete Buhlerin*,<sup>3</sup> just as Aurelia refers to Placentia as "Mistress" and "debauch'd."<sup>4</sup> Provoked by these appellations, both Marwood and Placentia reveal their true identities and in the next moment kill their rivals.

The contention that Lessing is here using material taken from *The Perjur'd Husband* is strengthened by the fact that he does not succeed in motivating it satisfactorily. In the first place, he had difficulty in bringing the two women together without the presence of Mellefont. Even if we concede that Mellefont might have been persuaded to introduce Marwood as his aunt, he would not have left such

<sup>1</sup> V, II, p. 35. In this article all page numbers in references to *The Perjur'd Husband* apply to the original edition: *The Perjur'd Husband: or, the Adventures of Venice*, London, 1700.

<sup>2</sup> III, v; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 309.

<sup>3</sup> IV, viii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 335.

<sup>4</sup> V, II, p. 36.



a violent woman alone with Sara, no matter how eager he was to receive a message relative to the legacy. Again, the real Sara, as depicted elsewhere in the drama, is not capable of such a bold and defiant stand as the part requires here. An Aurelia on being provoked can call Placentia a strumpet in the very face of the rival's brother, but the reserved, shrinking personality of Sara cannot be conceived as hurling such words at the apparent "Lady Solmes," who she thinks is a friend of Marwood. The simple explanation is that Lessing is here dealing with a borrowed idea. When an author invents features of action with certain characters in mind, he is less likely to fall into inconsistencies than when he assigns to the characters effective passages taken from other rôles.

After the clash of the two rival women, Mrs. Centlivre hastens her tragedy to a rapid close, but Lessing, in order to give the heroine a lingering and tearful death, adds a whole act. It is no doubt for this reason that he has Marwood administer poison instead of, like Placentia, using a sword. This scene, though modeled to a large extent on the death scene in Johnson's *Caelia*, has significant resemblances to the catastrophe of *The Perjur'd Husband*. Bassino arrives to discover Aurelia dying, and kills Placentia in revenge; Mellefont comes to find Sara at the point of death, and in his rage threatens to strike down her murderer if she comes within his reach. Both men rush about aimlessly, almost beside themselves because of what has happened. Bassino in atonement contrives to fall by the sword of Alonzo; Mellefont takes his own life for the same reason. Furthermore, Sara forgives Marwood in the same manner as Aurelia forgives Placentia.

Placentia is clearly evident in Lessing's Marwood, especially in the softening and elevating of the qualities taken from Shadwell's equivalent character. Mrs. Termagant, a hard "humour" character according to the school of Ben Johnson, is not designed to arouse the least pity, but is used merely as a goad upon Belfond to show that "wenching" does not pay. When it is time to end the drama, she is disposed of by a bribe in the form of an annuity of a hundred pounds. Marwood, on the other hand, is no longer almost an abstraction of jealous fury, but is much more sympathetically drawn. In fact, she comes dangerously near to usurping the part of a heroine in the sympathy of the spectator, the case being somewhat analogous to that of

Shakespeare's Shylock. Relieved of the mercenary aspect, she is controlled wholly by the motive of love—not so unselfish and sincere as that of Lucia-Sara, but nevertheless genuine. Like Placentia, she follows her false lover (husband in Mrs. Centlivre) to another city. Unable to win back his love or to prevail upon the other woman to renounce him, she brings death to her rival. Mrs. Termagant, except for Shadwell's illogical dénouement, pursues her course of vengeance relentlessly, but Marwood wavers for a time between the two emotions of love and revenge. Lessing gives his mistress a better claim upon Mellefont-Belfond than does Shadwell. In this respect Marwood is a compromise between Placentia, who is a legal wife, and Mrs. Termagant, who, though declaring herself engaged, is a mistress. Actually she has been promised a marriage ceremony, but it has been deferred because of a legacy which is to be left to Mellefont on condition that he marry a certain distant relative.

In Act I of *The Perjur'd Husband*, Aurelia, like Mrs. Termagant-Marwood in Act II of *The Squire of Alsatia* and Act II of *Miss Sara Sampson*, plays the part of the temptress. Here also the two tragedies have striking similarities not found in the comedy. Whereas in *The Squire of Alsatia* Mrs. Termagant is never presented in her own rooms, in both *The Perjur'd Husband* and *Miss Sara Sampson* the principal scenes between Bassino-Mellefont and Aurelia-Marwood take place in the apartments of the latter. The scenes open in the same way. Mrs. Centlivre indicates as stage directions: "Aurelia's Chamber; She in an Undress with Florella,"<sup>1</sup> which Lessing gives as "Der Schau-platz stellt das Zimmer der Marwood vor, in einem andern Gasthofe. Marwood im Neglischee. Hannah."<sup>2</sup> In each case, after a conversation between mistress and maid discussing the situation, the man enters. Mrs. Termagant in the corresponding scene of *The Squire of Alsatia* makes the attack on Belfond without a weapon, whereas in the other two plays she is given a dagger. Lessing follows Mrs. Centlivre also in having Aurelia-Marwood offer to stab herself and be prevented by Bassino-Mellefont.

Another detail from *The Perjur'd Husband* is that Mellefont is made to waver between loyalty to Sara and reawakened love for Marwood. In *The Squire of Alsatia* Belfond is not attracted by his

<sup>1</sup> Act I, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> II, 1; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 281.

former mistress, her function being merely to plague him; but in *The Perjur'd Husband* Bassino is torn between duty toward his wife and love for Aurelia. Even the setting in Lessing is strikingly similar to Mrs. Centlivre's. Bassino and Mellefont are introduced<sup>1</sup> in the same way. In each case the time is morning. The wavering lover is shown in his own room in his night-gown.<sup>2</sup> He is in a bad mood after a sleepless night with his conscience. Then in each case the confidant enters and gives a moral sermon. Both Bassino and Mellefont are warned against visiting the apartments of their temptresses, but they consider themselves strong enough to resist any allurements. Mrs. Centlivre has the following dialogue at this point:

ARMANDO: Have you well weigh'd the Danger of this Visit?

BASSINO: What Danger can there be?

ARMANDO: Danger! my Lord—Consider well how feeble  
Our Reason is against the pow'r of Beauty—

BASSINO: My Resolution's firm; no Charm can shake it.

ARMANDO: If not her Beauty, fear her Syren Tongue;  
Fear her endearing Prayers, her fond Reproaches,  
Her tender Sighs, her Vows, her trickling Tears.  
Nay—if all these prove vain, fear her Despair,  
A Woman, an abandon'd Womans Rage.

BASSINO: Were there more Dangers yet, I'll stand 'em all;  
My Honour bids me pay this parting Visit:  
My Heart shall have no share in what I'll speak.  
Trust me this once, and be your self a witness,  
Bassino can controul unlawful love.—

ARMANDO: My Lord, 'tis with Regret I see you go.

May Heaven assist you in this dangerous strife.<sup>3</sup>

Lessing puts it thus:

NORTON: Es wird ihr einen Blick kosten, und Sie liegen wieder zu ihren Füßen. Bedenken Sie was Sie thun! Sie müssen sie nicht sprechen, oder das Unglück Ihrer armen Miss is vollkommen.

MELLEFONT: Ich Unglücklicher!—Nein, ich muss sie sprechen. Sie würde mich bis in dem Zimmer der Sara suchen, und alle ihre Wuth gegen diese Unschuldige auslassen.

NORTON: Aber, mein Herr—

MELLEFONT: Sage nichts! Lass sehen [Indem er in den Brief sieht], ob sie ihre Wohnung angezeigt hat. Hier ist sie. Komm, führe mich. [Sie gehen ab.]<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bassino, to be sure, already appears in the previous scene, but he says only a few words, the purpose of the scene being to start the minor plot.

<sup>2</sup> Lessing says, "unangekleidet" (I, iii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 270), and Mrs. Centlivre, "In his Night-gown" (I, ii).

<sup>3</sup> I, ii, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> I, ix; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 280-81.

Whereas in Shadwell's comedy Belfond is unmoved by the pleas of his discarded mistress, in Mrs. Centlivre's and Lessing's tragedies Bassino and Mellefont are both shaken from their good resolutions; Bassino entirely succumbs, but Mellefont afterward rallies. This wavering on the part of Mellefont is very important in the depiction of his character, some critics because of this regarding him even as a weakling. He becomes thereby considerably more impetuous than his prototype.

Lessing's Norton combines the functions of Armando in *The Perjur'd Husband* and of Bellamy in *Caelia*. A specific point in which he represents the former is in attempting to dissuade Mellefont from seeing Marwood again; one in which he resembles the latter is in advising Mellefont to marry Sara without delay. A point of characterization which Norton inherits from Bellamy is that formerly he has led the kind of life for which he is now sorry. He speaks of himself as "ein Bedienter, der auch etwas Bessers seyn könnte, wenn er, leider! darnach gelebt hätte."<sup>1</sup> Instead of being a moralizing friend-confidant, like Armando and Bellamy, Norton is, like Mrs. Centlivre's Florella, a moralizing servant-confidant.

Lessing's gleanings from *The Perjur'd Husband* may be summed up as follows. Act I of *Miss Sara Sampson* contains two short scenes representing material from Mrs. Centlivre's play: scene iii, in which Mellefont is shown troubled by his conscience; and scene ix, in which Norton warns his master against visiting Marwood. These details, together with qualities from Bellamy in *Caelia* and Florella in *The Perjur'd Husband*, account for the character of Norton. Some of the material for the meeting of Mellefont and Marwood in Act II of *Miss Sara Sampson* is taken from the scene between Bassino and Aurelia in *The Perjur'd Husband*. By this means, Shadwell's calm Belfond Junior becomes an impetuous Mellefont, a lover wavering between two women. Important additions to Lessing's climax scene (Act IV) and its preparation (Act III, scene v) come from the fatal scene between Placentia and Aurelia in *The Perjur'd Husband*. Act V of *Miss Sara Sampson* is approximately the catastrophe of *The Perjur'd Husband* expanded after the manner of the death scene in *Caelia*. The delineation of the character of Mrs. Termagant-Marwood is softened and elevated under the influence of Mrs. Centlivre's Placentia.

<sup>1</sup> IV, iii; Lachmann-Muncker, II, 320.

The reason for the conclusion that Lessing based his plot on *The Squire of Alsatia* rather than on *Caelia* is that the borrowed material to be found only in the former is considerably greater and more important than that found only in the latter. As has been shown, Shadwell's comedy, with the welding together of the Lucia-Belfond-Mrs. Termagant and the Isabella-Belfond-Mrs. Termagant love triangle and with a tragic ending, contains the whole outline of Lessing's plot. If we should suppose that the German dramatist used *Caelia* as the basis and added features from *The Squire of Alsatia*, Shadwell's work would still have supplied necessarily the extremely important character of Marwood-Mrs. Termagant and the essential features of the action represented by the Isabella story and by Mrs. Termagant's part in the Lucia story. In other words, *Caelia* lacks Lessing's love triangle, two of his three major scenes, and the strongest of his three principal characters. If he began with the material of *The Squire of Alsatia*, the process of adding minor features of action and of character from *Caelia* and *The Perjur'd Husband* was comparatively simple. Had he begun with the material of *Caelia*, he would have been forced to seek out many of the major features of his plot from *The Squire of Alsatia*, and then to supplement some of the new scenes by means of suggestions derived from *The Perjur'd Husband*. In short, the parts from *Caelia* and *The Perjur'd Husband* are merely supplementary materials fitted into the original plot derived from *The Squire of Alsatia*.

The contributions of the three plays discussed account for practically all the significant material of *Miss Sara Sampson*. In Act I of Lessing's tragedy the principal scene—that between Sara and Mellefont—combines the corresponding scenes of *The Squire of Alsatia* and of *Caelia*, Sara's plea for the performance of the marriage ceremony coming from the latter work. Most of the material of scene iii, showing Mellefont's troubled conscience, and of scene ix, containing Norton's warning against his master's visit to Marwood, is taken from *The Perjur'd Husband*. Norton's advice in scene v that Mellefont marry Sara immediately is similar to Bellamy's demand upon Wronglove in *Caelia*. Scenes i and ii consist of exposition. The remaining scenes of Act I are merely transitional.

Act II, which is devoted to Marwood's attempt to regain Mellefont's love, is based on the scene between Belfond and Mrs. Termagant.

gant in *The Squire of Alsatia*, supplementary material being added from the corresponding scene between Bassino and Aurelia in *The Perjur'd Husband*. The first four scenes of Act III deal with material taken from *Caelia*: namely, Sir William Sampson's letter of forgiveness, and the account of Sara's seduction. The latter part of Act III and nearly the whole of Act IV are occupied with the meeting between Marwood and Sara; this section is based on the visit of Mrs. Termagant to Isabella in *The Squire of Alsatia* supplemented by material from the clash between Placentia and Aurelia in *The Perjur'd Husband*. Act V is a fusion of the catastrophe of *The Perjur'd Husband* and of the death scene in *Caelia*.

The three English plays supply also all of the significant characters. Marwood is derived from the Mrs. Termagant of *The Squire of Alsatia*, elevated primarily under the influence of Placentia in *The Perjur'd Husband*. Mellefont is the Belfond Junior of *The Squire of Alsatia*, influenced as to his wavering by Bassino in *The Perjur'd Husband*. Sara is Lucia and Isabella of *The Squire of Alsatia*, modified by the title character of *Caelia*. Arabella reveals the illegitimate daughter of Belfond Junior and Mrs. Termagant in *The Squire of Alsatia*. Sir William Sampson represents Shadwell's attorney in part but is more specifically modeled on Lovemore in *Caelia*. Waitwell is the Meanwell of *Caelia*. Norton, a moralizing servant-confidant like Florella in *The Perjur'd Husband*, takes the place of the friend-confidants, Bellamy in *Caelia* and Armando in *The Perjur'd Husband*. The remaining characters are not of sufficient importance to be taken into consideration. Hannah and Belford are conventional servants. Betty, except for being sentimentalized, is the same. *Der Wirt* appears in only one short scene, contributing a few words to the exposition while showing Sir William Sampson and Waitwell to their rooms.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE BASIC MODEL

Contrary to the view generally held by scholars, Lessing read English drama extensively in the early years of his literary career—probably as early as 1747. He surely had studied it extensively by

<sup>1</sup> As shown in my dissertation, the various other works that have been proposed as the sources for the plot of *Miss Sara Sampson* contributed nothing but comparatively unimportant material, such as the character names, a few minor points of the action, and some aphorisms.



1748, and by 1755 knew the plays of at least seventeen (probably twenty or more) Restoration and early eighteenth-century English writers. At the time of the production of *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755) he was well read in English domestic tragedies. He certainly knew Charles Johnson's *Caelia* (1733), Centlivre's *The Perjur'd Husband* (1700), Cooke's *The Mournful Nuptials* (1739; published in 1744 in altered form as *Love the Cause and Cure of Grief*), Otway's *The Orphan* (1680), Rowe's *The Fair Penitent* (1703), Hill's *The Fatal Extravagance* (1720), Lillo's *The London Merchant* (1731), and Moore's *The Gamester* (1753). In addition to these he may have scrutinized the texts of Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage* (1694), Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1607), and the anonymous *A Yorkshire Tragedy* (1608).<sup>1</sup> Consequently, the domestic tragedy to be regarded as the specific model of *Miss Sara Sampson* must resemble the German play very closely in type. *The London Merchant* fails to meet this test, differing from Lessing's drama in several important characteristics. *Caelia*, on the other hand, agrees with *Miss Sara Sampson* in every essential point of type and form, the only drama to do so.

An extremely important feature of type in which *The London Merchant* differs and *Caelia* agrees with *Miss Sara Sampson* is the social setting. Lillo's play treats the life of the mercantile class. The leading character, Barnwell, is a clerk, and the vocation of the tradesman is extolled:

I wou'd not have you only learn the Method of Merchandize, and practise it hereafter, merely as a Means of getting Wealth; 'twill be well worth your Pains to study it as a Science, to see how it is founded in Reason, and the Nature of Things; how it promotes Humanity, as it has open'd and yet keeps up an Intercourse between Nations, far remote from one another in Situation, Customs and Religion; promoting Arts, Industry, Peace and Plenty; by mutual Benefits diffusing mutual Love from Pole to Pole.<sup>2</sup>

Maria because of her affection for her father's clerk is indifferent to titled wooers. In *Miss Sara Sampson*, on the other hand, the social setting is that of the lower nobility, exactly the same as in *Caelia*. The heroine, Sara, like *Caelia*, is the daughter of a country gentleman. If Lessing had used *The London Merchant* as his model, he would

<sup>1</sup> Evidence given in detail in my dissertation.

<sup>2</sup> III, i, p. 28. In this article all page numbers referring to *The London Merchant* apply to the original edition (London, 1731).

hardly have changed Lucia, the lawyer's daughter of *The Squire of Alsatia*, into a gentlewoman.

Again, *The London Merchant* is founded on a legalistic basis, civil law playing a prominent part in the action. Barnwell and Millwood in punishment for their crimes die on the gallows. But with Lessing's drama the case is otherwise. As several scholars have emphasized, *Miss Sara Sampson* is a *Familiendramödie*,<sup>1</sup> the criminal court and the hangman being omitted. Schmidt characterizes the play thus: "Bürgerlich' als ein Stück modernen familiären Lebens mit Conflicten des Gewissens, die hier weder der Polizei noch der strengen Haus- und Gesellschaftsmoral zufallen, sondern im engsten Kreise Vernichtung und Vergebung thränen erzwingend herbeiführen."<sup>2</sup> This is frequently referred to as a great improvement on English domestic tragedy (Lillo's *The London Merchant* and Moore's *The Gamester* being usually thought of as the characteristic examples). The supposed change is said to be the result of the influence of Richardson's *Clarissa*. Oehlke regards the *Familiendramödie* as a distinctive expression of the German spirit.<sup>3</sup> The fact, however, is that this is exactly what Lessing found in *Caelia*. Thus we have another reason for concluding that Lessing did not pattern his domestic tragedy after *The London Merchant*.

A strong religious note permeates *The London Merchant*. Barnwell's uncle, on being stabbed, prays for the unknown murderer. Thorowgood is the ideal Christian. After Barnwell and Millwood have been convicted, he sends a divine to them to prepare them for the other world. On being assured that the wayward clerk has experienced "the infinite Extent of heavenly Mercy,"<sup>4</sup> the good old man exclaims:

O the Joy it gives to see a Soul form'd and prepar'd for Heaven! For this the faithful Minister devotes himself to Meditation, Abstinence, and Prayer, shunning the vain Delights of sensual Joys, and daily dies that others

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Th. W. Danzel and G. E. Guhrauer, *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1880), I, 303.

<sup>2</sup> Erich Schmidt, *Lessing* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1899), I, 273.

<sup>3</sup> "Lessings bürgerliches Trauerspiel ist deutsch und unterscheidet sich deutlich von dem englischen Vorbild. Er stellt das gefährdete Sittengesetz auf eine neue Grundlage, die in England nur im Roman Geltung hatte: die Familie. Dieser Begriff ist es, der gebietend und zugleich versöhnend das Drama durchzieht und ihm so die kriminalistische Färbung nimmt" (Waldemar Oehlke, *Lessing und seine Zeit* [Munich, 1919], I, 294).

<sup>4</sup> V, ii, p. 57.

may live for ever. . . . If the Reward of all his Pains be to preserve one Soul from wandering, or turn one from the Error of his Ways, how does he then rejoice, and own his little Labours over paid?<sup>1</sup>

Barnwell, because of the comfort of religion, can face death serenely: "I find a Power within that bears my Soul above the Fears of Death, and, spight of conscious Shame and Guilt, gives me a Taste of Pleasure more than Mortal."<sup>2</sup> As he is led away to the gallows, he requests of his friends: "Pray for the Peace of my departing Soul."<sup>3</sup> The villain of the play, Millwood, is a warning to the irreligious. She speaks of the devil as "that imaginary Being,"<sup>4</sup> and scoffs at those who profess to be religious: "Whatever Religion is in it self, as practis'd by Mankind, it has caus'd the Evils, you say, it was design'd to cure."<sup>5</sup> Obstinate refusing the ministrations of the divine sent by Thorowgood, "She goes to Death encompassed with Horror, loathing Life, and yet afraid to die; no Tongue can tell her Anguish and Despair."<sup>6</sup> In neither *Miss Sara Sampson* nor *Caelia* is the religious element prominent.

The fourth point in which *Caelia* resembles *Miss Sara Sampson* more closely than does *The London Merchant* is in structure. All three plays have unity of action,<sup>7</sup> and all three disregard the classical rule of the unity of place.<sup>8</sup> In the matter of the duration of time, however, there is an important difference between *The London Merchant* and the other two. Lillo's play opens at the very beginning of the story, and the action of the drama covers Barnwell's first visit to Millwood's house, his unsuccessful attempt to break with the courtesan, his murder of his uncle, the exposure and capture of Barnwell and Millwood, the trial, and finally the summons to the gallows. *Miss Sara*

<sup>1</sup> V, ii, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> V, iii, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> V, x, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> IV, xviii, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> IV, xviii, p. 54.

<sup>6</sup> V, xi, p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> Though, as has been noted, *Miss Sara Sampson* has two complications, they are so closely interwoven that the action must be regarded as unified. Unity of action clearly was the author's aim.

<sup>8</sup> *Miss Sara Sampson* was an important factor in the emancipation of the German drama of Lessing's day from the restrictions of the French neo-classical theory of structure. On May 3, 1755, in the *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung*, Lessing said sarcastically concerning Gottsched:

"Dieser berühmte Lehrer hat nun länger als zwanzig Jahr seinem lieben Deutschland die drey Einheiten vorgeprediget, und dennoch wagt man es auch hier, die Einheit des Orts recht mit Willen zu übertreten. Was soll daraus werden?" (*Lessing im Urtheile seiner Zeitgenossen* [ed., Julius W. Braun; Berlin, 1884], I, 51).

*Sampson*, on the other hand, like *Caelia*, presents on the stage the incidents of only the last day, the previous events being imparted to the spectator through exposition. Consequently, as between *The London Merchant* and *Caelia*, the latter may be supposed to have exerted the greater influence on the structure of the German play.<sup>1</sup>

The only characteristics in which *The London Merchant* agrees closely with *Miss Sara Sampson* are in the didactic element, lachrymosity, and prose dialogue. These are found also in *Caelia*.

The didactic element is as prominent in *Caelia* as in *Miss Sara Sampson* and *The London Merchant*. Not only does the story itself impose a strong moral, but the characters moralize from beginning to end. *Caelia*'s self-accusations are similar to *Sara*'s; Bellamy's warnings to Wronglove are even more forceful than those of Norton to Mellefont. The tragedy ends with a definite statement of the moral, Meanwell saying:

Alas! poor Lady! the Tumult of her Soul is done: Horror and Pain, Reproach, Anxiety, and Shame, are fled together. Blush, blush, ye Libertines; survey this dreadful Scene of Woe; and ask your Hearts, if poor unhappy *Caelia* deserv'd this Usage from the Man she lov'd. Cou'd you but feel a Father's Grief, wou'd you not think him wrong'd? He who pleads Custom, vicious Custom, for Crimes like these, renounces all Pretensions to Justice or Humanity.

Then let this Story teach unbridled Youth,  
Honour can only be secur'd by Truth.

In the Preface to the published text is added: "If these Scenes shall have any Effect on the Morals of our Youth, and prove a Caution to the Young and Innocent of the Fair Sex, I shall think my self well rewarded." Wronglove, like Mellefont, dies repentant.

The play is full of pathos and emotionalism. This note is struck at the very beginning by Meanwell's sad announcement that *Caelia*'s mother has died of a broken heart over the daughter's defection, is continued in the tearful scene between the girl and the old faithful servant and that between the latter and the father, and reaches its

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is not intended to imply that Lessing's decision to disregard the rule of the unity of place in *Miss Sara Sampson* was due chiefly to *Caelia*. As has been noted, his knowledge of English drama, which rarely conformed to the classical theory of structure, was extensive. A play that may have been particularly important in causing him to break away from the strict observance of the three unities is *The Perjur'd Husband*, which is a source of *Miss Sara Sampson* and has approximately the same arrangement of the scenes in question.

climax in the touching death scene of the last act. Caelia is a highly pathetic figure. Her waywardness, which is the cause of her misfortune, is excused on the ground of her ardent love for Wronglove and her childlike trust in him. As is shown by the author's own statement, pathos was one of his chief aims. In the Prologue he requests of the audience, "Encourage and reward him [i.e., the author] with your Tears." In the Preface to the printed edition he says that at the performance of the tragedy he had the pleasure of seeing many of the spectators "join with Caelia in her Tears." As stated in the Preface, his purpose in introducing the satirical brothel scene was "to raise the Distress of Caelia."

*Caelia*, as well as *The London Merchant*, is almost entirely in prose. The verse of the former consists of only the Prologue, the Epilogue, two songs, and eight lines at the ends of scenes; that of the latter of the Prologue, the Epilogue, and fifty-three lines of the play proper. *Miss Sara Sampson* goes a step farther than either of the English tragedies by omitting the verse altogether.

*The London Merchant*, then, cannot be said to have exerted much influence on *Miss Sara Sampson*. Lillo's play is merely one of a group of domestic tragedies which Lessing knew, and in its distinctive characteristics—the mercantile setting, the legalistic basis, and the religious coloring—it differs from the German production. Neither does its structure closely resemble that of *Miss Sara Sampson*. Even in the few features of type in which *The London Merchant* agrees with *Miss Sara Sampson* we should infer, unless a reason can be given to the contrary, that as between *The London Merchant* and *Caelia* the latter actually exerted the greater influence. The manner in which Lessing fitted details from *Caelia* into the plot derived from *The Squire of Alsatia* indicates that he knew Johnson's sentimental domestic tragedy very thoroughly and that he had it constantly before him during the composition of his own.

Moreover, the characteristics in which *The London Merchant* agrees with *Miss Sara Sampson* are common to many dramas and other literary writings with which Lessing was familiar. The didactic element had long been stressed in Germany, and Lessing himself had done considerable moralizing in *Damon* (1747), *Der Freigeist* (1749), *Die Juden* (1749), and *Henzi* (published 1753). Moreover, all three of

the chief sources of *Miss Sara Sampson*—*Caelia*, *The Perjur'd Husband*, and *The Squire of Alsatia*—have an avowed moral purpose. Furthermore, Lessing early showed a tendency toward lachrymosity. Prose tragedy had been rather common in Germany in the seventeenth century, and had not entirely disappeared by the middle of the eighteenth. On January 31, 1754, Lessing had praised the use of the prose form in the tragedy *Emirene*, published in the *Hamburgische Beyträge* (1753).<sup>1</sup> In short, *Miss Sara Sampson* does not seem to have any important features that may properly be regarded as contributions of *The London Merchant*.<sup>2</sup>

Much of the historical importance, then, that has been assigned to *The London Merchant* belongs to *Caelia*. Probably no one would deny that, if the latter drama rather than the former was the model of *Miss Sara Sampson*, Johnson's play was a far more important factor than Lillo's in inaugurating the great vogue of domestic tragedy in Germany in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Seventeen actual imitations of *Miss Sara Sampson* between 1755 and 1777 are discussed by Sauer.<sup>3</sup> Lessing's own *Emilia Galotti* (1772), one of the famous tragedies of Germany, is in reality merely a maturer study of *Miss Sara Sampson*, a significant improvement being the elimination of the excessive moralizing and lachrymosity. Goethe, Schiller, and others continued the tradition of domestic tragedy. By such means the line of succession may be said to extend to Ibsen and through him to the modern social drama of various countries.

PAUL P. KIES

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<sup>1</sup> Lachmann-Muncker, V, 381.

The evidence for the unsupported statements made in this paragraph and in the next is presented in my dissertation.

<sup>2</sup> Even the indirect influence of *The London Merchant* upon *Miss Sara Sampson* through *Caelia*, *Clarissa*, and other literary works must have been very small. Lessing's play contains only one characteristic that was an innovation of Lillo as far as English drama is concerned, the exclusive or almost exclusive use of prose in tragedy; and this feature, as noted above, was not an innovation in Germany.

<sup>3</sup> August Sauer, "Joachim Wilhelm von Brawe der Schüler Lessings," *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*, XXX, 81-110.



## THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES OF THREE HOURS AFTER MARRIAGE

### I

In view of the recent and natural revival of interest in the work of John Gay it seems worth while to give a more detailed account than has been available of what happened in 1717 when *Three Hours after Marriage* was produced. This is the more desirable because the wealth of material concerning the play illuminates theatrical customs of the time as well as the careers of Gay's famous collaborators, and also because the facts about the play—which is by no means so scurvy a performance as it is usually represented—were early falsified.<sup>1</sup> Some-

<sup>1</sup> For accepted eighteenth-century accounts see C. Cibber, *A Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope* (1742), pp. 17-18; T. Cibber (and R. Shiels), *Lives of the Poets*, IV (1753), 257, V, 244-45; S. Johnson, *Lives of the Poets* (ed. Hill), II, 271; *Biographia Britannica*, V, 3415.

Earlier pamphlets, in part at least attacks on the play, have been noted as follows. The number of them makes *Three Hours* an important pre-Dunciad storm center.

1. The Drury Lane Monster. . . . Printed for J. Roberts. Price, 2d.

Advertised in the *Post Boy* as published January 22, 1717.

2. A Satyr on the Present Times. Sold by J. Morphew. Price, 4d.

Advertised in the *Daily Courant* as published January 23, 1717. (This contains only an unfavorable allusion to the play.)

3. A Complete Key to the New Farce, call'd *Three Hours after Marriage*. By E. Parker, Philomath. Printed, and Sold by E. Berrington. Price, 6d.

Advertised in the *Post Boy* as published February 2, 1717.

4. *The Weekly Journal; or British Gazetteer*, February 9, 1717. This reprints a column of Dennis' abusive *Character of Mr. Pope*, which Parker (No. 3) had appended to his "Key."

5. A Letter to Mr. John Gay, concerning his late Farce, entitled, a comedy. Printed and sold by J. Roberts. 1717. Price, 6d.

Advertised in the *Evening Post* and the *Post Boy* just before March 1, 1717.

6. Leonard Welsted, Palaemon to Celia, at Bath; or the, Triumvirate. Sold by J. Roberts. . . .

Advertised in the *Post Boy* as published March 7, 1717; the second edition is advertised for March 13.

7. Sir Richard Blackmore, *Essays on Several Subjects*. Vol. II. . . . 1717. The essay on "Polite Writing" (pp. 269-70) attacks Pope, and the Preface attacks *Three Hours*. Advertised in the *Evening Post* as published March 26, 1717.

8. Joseph Gay [i.e., John Durant Breval], *The Confederates, a Farce*, 1717. Printed for R. Burliegh. Price, 1s.

Advertised in the *Evening Post*, March 30, 1717 as published that day.

9. *Three Hours after Marriage*, a comedy, by Gay, Pope, and Arbuthnot: To which is added, never before Printed, a key, explaining the most difficult passages in this comedy. Also a letter, giving an account of the origin of the quarrel between Colley Cibber, Pope, and Gay. Dublin: Printed for W. Whitestone, in Skinner-Row, 1761.

This "Key," of which I first learned through Professor Allardyce Nicoll (who has kindly allowed me the use of his copy), seems an authentic document composed in 1717. Possibly it [MODERN PHILOLOGY, August, 1926]

times falsification was unintentional. Although the aim of this study is to give a history of the stage fortunes of the play in 1717, a number of these "misconceptions" will receive especial attention in the course of our history. Among them are the common beliefs (1) that *Three Hours* satirized persons for whom at the time Pope professed friendship; (2) that the play was "damned" the first night; and (3) that its failure became the cause of Pope's dislike of players and especially of Cibber.<sup>1</sup>

## II

What was there in this farce by Gay, Pope, and Arbuthnot that might evoke either approbation or dislike? We shall find it fundamentally absurd, of course; for Gay's sense of the comic usually played about the absurd. His Mohocks will not merely change clothes with the watch; they will drag the watch before the Justices and accuse them of being Mohocks. Peachum joins a kiss with a threat to cut Polly's throat. Achilles, the "slacker," will wear armor half-hidden under his female garb. Throughout Gay's career he is an artist in absurdity, and the fact that the English audience of his day were too sensible for farcical absurdity—preferring satirical comedy of manners—accounts for the difficulty Gay had in "putting over" his comic

was not printed then because Parker's "Key" forestalled it. The "Letter," also anonymous, is supposedly by a woman who attended rehearsals and performances of the play in 1717; but it, in contrast to the "Key," relies for the most part on printed accounts of the play. It is a "Letter" organized to defend Cibber, and its vivid narrative of Gay's encounter with Cibber behind the scenes, obviously paralleling the story told by Cibber and here quoted (see *infra*, p. 107), seems somewhat unconvincing. The "Letter," however, makes no pretense of having been written early. It gives anecdotes regarding Pope's deathbed—which, again, seem doubtfully authentic.

Dennis' *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer*, published February 28, 1717 (*Daily Courant* adv.) is not an avowed attack on *Three Hours*, but its publication is doubtless due to the satire on Dennis in that play. The dunces-to-be in any case averaged almost an attack a week for ten weeks after the play was first performed. Doubtless not all the attacks have been noted.

Other pamphlets, as follows, may attack the play. I have not seen them.

The Art of Bubbling Ladies. [Cf. *infra*, pp. 101, 103.]

Advertised as in press, p. 35 of "A Letter to Mr. John Gay."

A Walk from St. James's to Covent-Garden the back way through the Meuse. In Imitation of Mr. Gay's Journey to Exeter: In a Letter to a Friend, with a Preface to the Critics. Printed for James Roberts.

Advertised, like the piece just above, p. 35 of the "Letter to Mr. John Gay"; and also in the *Post Boy* as published April 20, 1717.

An Essay on the Poets. Sold by J. Morphew.

Advertised in the *Daily Courant*, May 2, 1717, and the *Evening Post* for May 9.

<sup>1</sup> For these views see the Elwin-Courthope ed. of Pope's *Works*, III, 71n, 246, 258, 368; IV, 33; V, 126. The last belief is founded on Cibber's 1742 "Letter" to Pope, and is of course favored by friends of Cibber.

devices. It is hard to believe that in 1717 *Three Hours* could be damned for the large amount of obscenity or the small amount of irreverence that it contained;<sup>1</sup> it might fail if the audience were prejudiced against it—for enjoyment of absurdity demands sympathy, or at least a holiday mood that implies abeyance of criticism. In this case, as we shall see, some of the audience would be predisposed to hostility because they expected personal satire on themselves.

The action of the play is episodic. Fossile, a quack doctor and the superannuated bridegroom of an unchaste bride, jealously adopts various expedients to keep gallants out of her presence. Finally Plotwell and Underplot, two players, get access to the house disguised, respectively, as a mummy and as a crocodile—both natural articles of furniture in the laboratory of a 1717 virtuoso. They are discovered and turned into the street, where the crocodile is mobbed and ultimately led away as a monster to Hockley in the Hole. A bastard of Mrs. Townley's is palmed off on Fossile, who, however, is finally freed from his bride by the fortunate return of a previous husband.

Plotwell first gets into Fossile's house by attending a reading of Phoebe Clinket's (the doctor's niece) latest play, of which he is to pretend to be the author since the theaters have a prejudice against Mrs. Clinket's work. The play is in part read—to the dissatisfaction of the players and the infuriation of Sir Tremendous [= Dennis]. Obviously there is little unity in this "plot," but it gives rise to many farcical situations, which Gay handles admirably. It is these, together with a deal of stage business, which one might think would have made the play attractive to such as were not friends of persons satirized in the play—or were not enemies of the three authors of the play.

While lack of sympathy for Gay's absurdities might cause contempt for such a drama, the element of satire would be more likely to arouse active hostility. One doubts, however, if there was much non-partisan disapproval of the satire. Of the men satirized Dr. Woodward (Fossile) and Dennis (Sir Tremendous) are the most

<sup>1</sup> This is not an arguable point. One must read the more obscene plays acted with success in 1717, and then after reading *Three Hours* form his personal opinion. Sir Richard Blackmore, who for years had played the Puritan (and who had recently been attacked by Gay for strictures on the *Tale of a Tub*), was offended by the play's obscenity, and he represents the offense as universal. (See his *Essays*, II (1717), xlvii-xlviii).

notable.<sup>1</sup> Both of these men were popular butts, and the attacks on *Three Hours* do not find particular fault with our authors for manhandling these two. In fact, it must never be forgotten that the various explanations of the personal satire are attacks on the play, which seek rather to put the authors in a bad light than truly to explain the play.

That some such principle actuated these commentators will be evident if we consider their malicious explanations of the satire in the rôles of Mrs. Townley and Phoebe Clinket. Parker,<sup>2</sup> Breval,<sup>3</sup> and the author of the 1761 "Key"<sup>4</sup> indicate that Townley mimicked Mrs. Mead, wife of the well-known Dr. Mead. Any such mimicry must all lie in the acting; for there is nothing in the lines to distinguish Mrs. Townley from the ordinary stage belle of Covent Garden. Dr. Mead was a friend of Arbuthnot's, and later (if not already) he was Pope's friend and physician.<sup>5</sup> Mrs. Mead had been the Doctor's wife for almost twenty years, and was the mother of several children.<sup>6</sup> The only reason for this outrageous connection of her name with that of Mrs. Townley lies probably in the fact that the attacks on *Three Hours* were by friends of Woodward, who was professionally and personally hostile to Mead.<sup>7</sup> If Woodward was smirched, Mead through his wife should be smirched also. The assertions about Mrs. Mead might have embroiled Arbuthnot and Pope with her husband, but seem not to have done so. He did not think his friends likely to represent Mrs. Mead as a young woman of the town.

This bit of malice on the part of the enemies of the play has received little attention, but most writers on the subject have been content to repeat the almost equally unwarranted statement that Phoebe Clinket represents the Countess of Winchilsea. Here again the effort is to embroil friends; for Pope was known to be on good terms with the Countess. Parker says the rôle "is a very silly Imitation of *Bays* in the *Rehearsal*, but is design'd to ridicule the Countess of *W—n—ea*."<sup>8</sup> Pope is cleverly made to seem authority for this; for the play

<sup>1</sup> Account of the satire on players, especially Cibber, will be taken later.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 212-13.

<sup>5</sup> Elwin-Courthope ed. of Pope's *Works*, III, 172, 334; VIII, 167.

<sup>6</sup> See D.N.B. life of Mead.

<sup>7</sup> D.N.B., s.v. Woodward.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 5. Cf. the 1761 "Key," p. 213.

shows Clinket preceded everywhere by a maid with a desk strapped to her back so that her mistress may write down any sudden inspiration, and Pope is quoted as saying that Lady Winchilsea for the same purpose had a standish in every room. We may be certain that if Pope ever made the remark—and he might have done so—he did not make it in connection with Phoebe Clinket, for Lady Winchilsea seems not to have been offended by the play. Pope was her guest at Eastwell<sup>1</sup> six months after *Three Hours* was acted; he printed commendatory verses by the Countess in his own *Works*, June, 1717, and in July, 1717, was allowed to include in the miscellany, *Poems on Several Occasions*, for which he was responsible, poems by her ladyship.<sup>2</sup>

If the commentators on the play had not wished to cause its authors trouble, they could very likely have suggested another prototype for the rôle of Clinket. This would be Mrs. Susannah Centlivre, whom Pope thought he had reason to attack, since he believed her the author of a ballad upon his Homer called *The Catholick Poet*; or, *Protestant Barnaby's Sorrowful Lamentation*.<sup>3</sup> Let us remember that Clinket aside from being the conventional maudlin poetess is further characterized as an inveterate writer for the stage who has trouble getting the managers to accept her work and who rages when they make "cuts." Also, as Fossile says: "Instead of puddings, she makes pastorals; or when she should be raising paste, is raising some ghost in a new tragedy."<sup>4</sup> These details (which hardly apply to a Countess) have point when we recall that M. Centlivre was one of George I's cooks,<sup>5</sup> and consequently his wife might be rallied as neglecting the culinary arts, and when we recall that there had been in 1709 difficulty over the presentation of the ghost scene in the fifth act of Mrs. Centlivre's comedy *The Man's Bewitch'd*.<sup>6</sup> There can be little doubt that

<sup>1</sup> Pope's *Works*, ed. cit., VI, 248.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. A. E. Case's "Some New Poems by Pope" in the *London Mercury*, X (1924), 514-23.

<sup>3</sup> Pope's *Works*, ed. cit., IV, 159, 232, 338. The *Flying Post* advertises the ballad as published on May 31, 1716.

<sup>4</sup> *Three Hours*, Act I. The "new tragedy" may apply to the *Cruel Gift* by Mrs. Centlivre which was staged a month before *Three Hours*. The contents of the tragedy would not be known to our authors when their play was being written.

<sup>5</sup> Pope's *Works*, ed. cit., X, 472. He was "Yeoman of the Mouth" to George I, and in 1724 was made Master Cook.

<sup>6</sup> It is worth noting also that Mrs. Centlivre's belief in a prejudice against even her successful plays goes as far back as 1707; for in the dedication to *The Platonick Lady* she talks quite as Phoebe Clinket was to talk ten years later: "A Play secretly introduc'd to

the source of the Clinket "plot" in *Three Hours* is traceable to the *Tatler*, No. 91 (November 8, 1709), where Steele tells a story of Bavius, "an ingenious contemporary of mine who had writ several comedies which were rejected by the players." That this anecdote was pointed at Mrs. Centlivre is made probable by a parallel account in the *Female Tatler*, No. 69 (December 14, 1709), which praises *The Man's Bewitch'd* highly and tells of a visit made by Mrs. Centlivre to the Society of "Mrs. Crackenthorpe," the Female Tatler. The difficulties of Bavius in the *Tatler* and those of Phoebe Clinket in *Three Hours* are here presented as actual in the case of Mrs. Centlivre:

The Society had the Curiosity of knowing the Nature of introducing a *Play* into the *House*; Mrs. *Centlivre* told 'em, that 'twas much easier to write a *Play* than to get it *Represented*; that their *Factions* and *Divisions* were so great, they seldom continued in the same mind two Hours together; that they treated her, (tho a Woman) in the *Masculine Gender*; and as they do all *Authors* with *Wrangling* and *Confusion*, which has made most Gentlemen that have a *Genius* to *Scribbling*, employ their *Pens* another way; that to show their *Judgment* in *Plays*, they had actually cut out the *Scene* in the *Fifth Act*, between the *Countryman* and the *Ghost*, which the *Audience* receiv'd with that wonderful *Applause*; and 'twas with very great struggling the *Author* prevail'd to have it in again; one made faces at his part, another was *Witty* upon her's: But as the whole was very well perform'd at last, she has *Condescension* to pass over the *Affronts* of a *Set* of *People* who have it not in their *Natures* to be grateful to their *Supporters*.

This complaint (which sounds much like Phoebe Clinket)<sup>1</sup> was naturally annoying to Mrs. Centlivre, especially as she was accused of writing it herself. When *The Man's Bewitch'd* was printed (1710), she had to defend herself in the Preface against the charge of attacking the managers and praising herself. She professes to have made willingly changes in the ghost scene suggested by Cibber, but admits that "when Mr. Estcourt sliced most of it out, I could not help interposing my desires to the Contrary." This episode in her life, with *Tatler*, No. 91, forms the probable source for the incident where Phoebe

the *House*, whilst the *Author* remains unknown, is approv'd by every Body: The *Actors* cry it up, and are in expectation of a great *Run*. . . . But if by chance the *Plot's* discover'd, and the *Brat* found *Fatherless*, immediately it flags in the *Opinion* of those that extoll'd it before . . . with this Reason only, *It is a Woman's*." Cf. *Three Hours*, 1717, pp. 51, 76-77, for parallels to this passage in the lines of Mrs. Clinket.

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, pp. 104-5.



Clinket so vehemently 'interposes her desires' to save her play from excisions.<sup>1</sup>

There are, then, several good reasons for connecting Mrs. Centlivre with Phoebe Clinket, and few or none outside the malicious assertions of Pope's enemies for connecting Lady Winchilsea with the rôle. It is noteworthy that upon such unfounded statements as those of these critics of *Three Hours* was built the tradition of Pope's supposed treachery to his friends. The malice of his enemies succeeded—not with the Countess or with Dr. Mead or Pope's other intimates, but with the general public who did not know him personally.<sup>2</sup>

### III

It will surprise those who imagine that *Three Hours* was damned at its first performance to know that the play had, beginning January 16, 1717, a run of seven consecutive performances in Drury Lane. Other plays in that theater during the season of 1716-17 were acted more times, but none had more than six consecutive performances.<sup>3</sup> The play was published on Monday, January 21, 1717,<sup>4</sup> and in his "Advertisement"<sup>5</sup> Gay says:

I must farther own the Assistance I have receiv'd in this Piece from two of my Friends; who, tho' they will not allow me the Honour of having their Names join'd with mine, cannot deprive me of the Pleasure of making this Acknowledgment.

This must have been written before Gay realized how "damned" his play was—and written without any thought of the embarrassment it was to cause Pope. Similarly when Arbuthnot and Pope went<sup>6</sup>—if they did go—to Lintot's shop on the day of publication to see how

<sup>1</sup> *Three Hours* (1717), pp. 21-24.

<sup>2</sup> In the Wrenn Library, according to Professor Griffith, there is a copy of *Three Hours* with a MS note by Col. F. Grant, dated August 8, 1878: "Phoebe Clinkett was supposed to be Mrs. Centlivre." The basis of Col. Grant's note is unknown to the present writer.

<sup>3</sup> Using the data found in advertisements of the *Daily Courant* from October 1716 to July 1717, which will naturally agree with the facts found in Allardyce Nicoll's *History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*, one finds that Mrs. Centlivre's "new tragedy," *The Cruel Gift*, and a revival of Rowe's *Tamerlane* each ran for six consecutive performances. *Tamerlane* was played eleven times during the season; *Henry VIII* ten times (non-consecutive), while *The Rehearsal*, *The Cruel Gift*, and *Three Hours* each had seven performances. At Lincoln's Inn Fields there were longer runs for three or four plays—the longest, Taverner's *Artful Husband*, having fifteen non-consecutive performances.

<sup>4</sup> See *Daily Courant* for the day.

<sup>5</sup> Thrd leaf, unnumbered.

<sup>6</sup> Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

the play was selling, they obviously were unconscious that the act would subject them to ridicule—they too were unconscious how “damned” the play was.

Other bits of evidence proving that the play was not immediately regarded as a failure may be found in the attacks on it. *The Drury Lane Monster*, a broadside composed apparently the day before it was published,<sup>1</sup> speaks of the play as “For five Days together, the Talk of the Town.” This at least indicates notoriety: something better is possibly implied by the author of *A Letter to Mr. John Gay* (published about March 1, 1717), who complains that the play is aided by “the Interest of your Two *Friends in the Dark*,” i.e., Pope and Arbuthnot. He continues: “The Audience are much to blame for their Tame-ness, in suffering their Judgment to be over-ruled by a blind Partiality to any private Recommendation. Never before now, was the Sense of one or two Persons made the Standard of the Taste of Mankind,”<sup>2</sup> etc. The audience seems to be getting respectful. The following lines of *A Satyr on the Present Times*<sup>3</sup> are also interesting on this point:

The Cruel Gift has won the Town's applause,  
But we are always pleas'd without a Cause;  
We know no Reason A——n goes down,  
Or P—e, or R—e should bear away the Crown.  
Why J——n durst a motly Drama bring,  
A Farce, a Play, a Pyrate and a King.

The blanks are easily filled in: A——n is Addison, whose *Drummer* had failed in 1716 with three performances. (No reference ascribing the play to Addison as early as 1717 has, I think, hitherto been pointed out.) Pope and Rowe are mentioned as bearing away the Crown with *Three Hours* and *Tamerlane*. Johnson's *Successful Pyrate*, or possibly his new play, yet unacted, *The Sultaness*, is the last play alluded to. This satire was possibly sent to press before *Three Hours* was acted, in which case it is mere prophecy. If written after the first night it shows no consciousness that the play was failing. There is evidence, then, in the seven performances, in Gay's “Advertisement,” and in the various other documents quoted that the play was not at first recognized as a failure.

<sup>1</sup> Advertised in the *Post Boy* as published January 22, 1717.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Published January 23, 1717 (*Daily Courant*).

But after the seventh performance the play was dropped. The problem is, Why if it could make a season's record for consecutive performances was it totally dropped at the end of a week? The enemies of the play would have us believe its failure due to obscenity, profanity, satirical personalities, or the absurdities of the plot. Pope,<sup>1</sup> on the other hand, would have us believe that the opposition to the play was due to "a tide of malice and party, that certain authors have raised against it." If we examine in detail the history of the play's reception we shall probably see that while both sides have something of truth in their opinions, Pope's view is more nearly in accord with the facts. The basic hypothesis of this study is that the prejudice of the wits at Button's made it impossible for them to enjoy the absurdities of the play, and that they drew many spectators to their contemptuous attitude. Above all, they could not swallow (if one may say so) the mummy and the crocodile.

Pope had been in trouble with the wits at Button's since he had criticized the pastorals of Philips in the *Guardian*, No. 40, and especially since the episode of Tickell's *Iliad I* in 1715. He had been the object of repeated attack, but apparently had not replied until early in 1716 when Curll got hold of a poem, which he printed as *The Worms. A Satyr, Written by Mr. Pope*. This squib likened all mankind to worms, and concluded,

Even Button's wits to worms shall turn,  
Who maggots were before.<sup>2</sup>

This attack seemed harmless enough, and a month after it appeared we find young Tom Burnet writing in a letter dated June 1, 1716, "Addison & the rest of the Rhiming Gang have dropt their Resentment against the *Lordlike Man*," i.e., against Pope.<sup>3</sup> But even after that Pope was attacked by Dennis; and Gay for Swift's sake attacked Blackmore.<sup>4</sup> One can consequently imagine the stir at Button's in January 1717 when the report was current, as Burnet wrote Duckett on January 6, that "Pope is coming out with a Play, in which every one of our modern Poets are ridiculed."<sup>5</sup> This report, however

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, ed. cit., VII, 464. Cf. Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Works*, ed. cit., IV, 485.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum Add. MSS 36772, fol. 121; edited for the Roxburghe Club in *The Letters of Thomas Burnet to George Duckett*. Edited by David Nichol Smith (1914), p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> Pope's *Works*, ed. cit., VIII, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Add. MSS 36772, fol. 138v. Edition of Nichol Smith, pp. 119-20.



Grew loud at last, and to a *Hiss* improv'd.  
 Nor Wit, nor Humour, could their Rage appease,  
*Clinket* and *Plotwell* strove in vain to please;  
 Each smutty Phrase, and every cutting Line,  
 Was thrown away, and lost, like Pearls on Swine:  
 Some Females only (to the good old Cause  
 True Friends, I (a)ween) gave tokens of Applause.  
 (a) A Word much us'd by Mr. Gay, in his *Shepherd's Week*.

Disheartened, according to Breval, by this news of failure, the "confederates" decide to pack the house ("It is well known they did so," he notes); but first they find they must quell rebellion in the cast, for the players refuse to repeat their experience of insult. Mrs. Bicknell and Mrs. Oldfield demand a "present" from the authors if they are to go on. Cibber, similarly, agrees to re-enact the mummy only upon Pope's promise to revise for printing the "obnubilated" diction of *The Heroick Daughter*. When Cibber is gone, Pope is made to avow the insincerity of his promise: Of course he won't revise the play.<sup>1</sup> The guineas to buy up Oldfield and Bicknell seem not forthcoming, for Lintot when approached announces that he has already lost enough on the confederates' works. To Pope regarding his *Homer*, Lintot is made to say what was quite contrary to the fact:

Thou little dream'st what Crowds I daily see,  
 That call for TICKELL, and that spurn at thee.<sup>2</sup>

Suddenly, however, a footman with a purse appears and says he comes from

three Ladies known full well;  
 Their Names are G——n, B——ne, L——p—I;  
 This Purse of Gold, and Letter, Sir, they send.<sup>3</sup>

This *deus ex machina* enables the three authors to bribe the actresses, and thus, Breval would have us think, the play kept going.

But what are we to think? Breval's "poem" seems a well-fused mixture of prejudice and fact. We might expect him to depict more violently the opposition to the first performance; yet it is certain that there was a demonstration against the play. The author of the 1761 "Key" says: "I went to the Theatre the first night, but could not find

<sup>1</sup> It was finally published in 1719 with a warm dedication to Steele. Did he finally make the desired revision of the style? "Obnubilated" is Parker's (*Complete Key*) borrowing of Gay's word.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

the least room; every door that was opened to me, diffus'd more heat than a baker's oven, or the mouth of a glass-house."<sup>1</sup> The next evening with difficulty he found a place, and his superior rhetoric paints for us the second night as Breval probably should have described the first:

Wilks spoke the prologue with his usual vivacity and applause! but he had no sooner ended, and thrown the fool's cap on the stage but the storm began, and the criticks musick of cat-calls join'd in the chorus.—The play was acted like a ship tost in a tempest; yet notwithstanding, through those clouds of confusion and uproar, I, as one of the neutral powers, could discover a great many passages that gave me much satisfaction; and while the inimitable Oldfield was speaking the epilogue . . . the storm subsided—And to speak poetically, my friend—

The billows seem'd to slumber on the shore.

But when the play was given out for the third night, (Tho' the benefit of the author was not mention'd) the roar burst out again, like sudden thunder from two meeting clouds; but I with pleasure observ'd, the roar of applause overcame and triumph'd.

I went a third night to the pit, where I saw the comedy perform'd to a numerous and polite audience with general applause.<sup>2</sup>

The author of the "Letter" appended to the Dublin, 1761, edition of the play gives an account of an amusing accident on the fourth night.<sup>3</sup> Pinkethman, who enacted the crocodile, "boasting much in the beauty of his long tale," clumsily turned and with the aforesaid tail knocked Sarsnet, Mrs. Townley's confidante, flat on the stage, "where she discovered more linnen than other hab'iments, and, more skin and flesh than linnen; this began the first uproar in the audience." This event must have been near the end of the play, but "Pinky" had a further chance to upset the performance by falling backward into the mummy case, where he found himself so firmly wedged that the stage carpenters had to work for half an hour to get him out again. On the next night some of the audience called for a repetition of this horseplay.

We have, then, accounts of serious disorder during the first two performances of the play and of disorder apparently due to cabal. There is evidence of increasing kindness of the audience on the third night—in fact, "Pinky's" mishaps on the fourth night are the only untoward episodes so far as we know during the last five performances.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 210–11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 221–22.



Was the play "picking up" on its own merits or were the houses packed?

This question brings us back to the "three ladies known full well" and to their purse. Breval's story is substantially found in Parker's "Key" where we are told that Gay "modestly gives out that . . . the very *Ladies of Honour* rais'd him Four Hundred Guineas"<sup>1</sup> because of the play's merits. Breval is sufficiently explicit with regard to their names, which possibly he took from Pope's *Court Ballad* (published two weeks after *Three Hours* was first acted), and which were Griffin, Bellendene, and Lepell. The *Court Ballad*, then, becomes a lively expression of avowed intimacy and of covert gratitude for patronage of Gay when in difficulties. Pope long remembered the favor, and he complicated the story in a couplet written twenty years later. It is a couplet which, having provoked the *ne plus ultra* of Warburtonian annotation,<sup>2</sup> has proved a stumbling block to all editors since. It is found in the *Sixth Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated by Mr. Pope* (1738), where Pope writes of a strangely prodigal Timon, who

if three ladies like a luckless Play,  
Takes the whole House upon the Poet's Day.<sup>3</sup>

This can hardly be an allusion to anything except the "three ladies known full well" who liked the luckless play of *Three Hours after Marriage*.

There is further<sup>186</sup> obscurity on a small point important in our attempt to discover how the play kept alive. Breval represents the three ladies as sending their purse just after the first performance; i.e., on January 16. This seems plausible from the fact that Pope's exuberant *Court Ballad* bears internal evidence of composition on or before January 19. The last stanza begins most aptly:

And thus, fair maids, my ballad ends;  
God send the king safe landing. . . .

The king landed January 19;<sup>4</sup> hence one assumes the gift to Gay was made not later than the 19th. On the other hand, the author's benefit for *Three Hours* is not advertised until the sixth night, January 22.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Pope's *Works*, ed. cit., III, 323.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 87-88.

<sup>4</sup> For the typically Hanoverian demonstration of the Roebuck Society on this occasion, see *The St. James's Evening Post*, January 22, 1717.

The last performance of the play was the 23d; and if Timon's gift came on the 22d, it hardly served to keep the play alive. It was, however, the practically invariable custom that the third night be for the author; hence Timon's generosity may have come (especially in view of the mention of the king's landing in Pope's *Ballad*) for the third day. In that case it may have helped keep the play alive. But, in that case, Gay had two benefit nights, a fact which would suggest that no financial difficulties attended the run of seven nights. It is also true that a present for the third night, while possibly useful, would hardly serve alone to keep a play going four nights more.

## IV

A most important reason why *Three Hours* was dropped definitively after a record run to large houses lies in the fact that the play satirized not merely Dennis and Dr. Woodward, but also Cibber and the players. This seems impossible at first sight, for Cibber as Plotwell had the biggest rôle in the play. Plotwell appeared first as a playwright, next disguised as Dr. Lubomirski of Cracow, and lastly as the almost triumphant mummy. The rôle is so varied and the situations so entirely farcical that it probably never occurred to Cibber that the absurd remarks of Clinket to the playwright Plotwell might have a cutting edge. Cibber, like the fops he "created," was slow to take offense at perceiving himself a butt, yet the appreciation of the audience at various points must by the end of seven performances have convinced him that in Plotwell he was himself the object of satire.<sup>1</sup> Clinket reproves him: "You are never to perplex the *Drama* with Speeches *Extempore*," and he is made to reply: "Madam, 'tis what the top-Players often do."<sup>2</sup> Just afterward when Clinket is urging Plotwell to pretend to be the author of her play, she makes a speech (echoing Mrs. Centlivre) that many a discouraged playwright in the pit would applaud: "Your [Cibber's!] personating the Author will in-

<sup>1</sup> Parker in his "Key" (p. 8; cf. p. 20) explicitly states that remarks here are "levell'd at Cibber and the satire bites. . . ." The 1761 "Key" says nothing about satire on Cibber, but says that the two players mean Wilkes and Booth (*ibid.*, p. 212). This comes to the same thing if we remember that Wilkes, Cibber, and Booth were managers of Drury Lane, and that the satire is aimed at their choice of new plays. The "Letter" appended to the 1761 edition of *Three Hours* represents the three authors as most friendly with Cibber during rehearsals, but such friendliness would be sheer necessity at such a crisis for any playwright.

<sup>2</sup> *Three Hours*, 1717, p. 16.

fallibly introduce my Play on the Stage, and spite of their Prejudice, make the Theatre ring with Applause, and teach even that injudicious *Canaille* [the Managers] to know their own Interest."<sup>1</sup> In the same scene Clinket levels at Plotwell the remark that "a Parrot and a Player can utter human Sounds, but neither of them are allow'd to be Judges of Wit." Another fierce cut comes when Sir Tremendous [Dennis] takes occasion to say of Plotwell: "Between you and I Madam, who understand better things, this Gentleman [Plotwell-Cibber] knows nothing of Poetry." And a player agrees: "The Gentleman may be an honest Man, but he is a damn'd Writer." Could Pope have revised the "poetry" of *The Heroick Daughter* after that? It is evident that satire on players flowed readily from the pens of our authors before the episode behind the scenes in Drury Lane which hitherto has been thought the cause of Pope's dislike of players.<sup>2</sup>

For various reasons, then, *Three Hours after Marriage* was withdrawn from the stage. The wits at Button's did not like the play because they did not like the authors. Friends of Woodward and Dennis did not like it. The Maids of Honour to the Princess of Wales did like it, and so did others also. Cibber, we may conclude, finally grew hostile to the play; for he not merely dropped it; but in a revival of *The Rehearsal*<sup>3</sup> satirized the episode of the mummy and the crocodile, which to the public had become the crowning and impossible absurdity of the piece. Cibber's account of the circumstance is well known. It occurs in his *Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope* (1742):

I, Mr. *Bays*, when the two Kings of *Brentford* came from the Clouds into the Throne again, instead of what my Part directed me to say, made use of these Words, viz. "Now, Sir, this Revolution, I had some Thoughts of introducing, by a quite different Contrivance; but my Design taking air, some of

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Genest (*Some Account of the English Stage*, II, 595) is almost the only person to have stressed properly the fact that *Three Hours* attacks Cibber and his management. With regard to Pope's dislike of players it ought further to be said that this enmity has been exaggerated. A study of *Alexander Pope and the Theatre* by J. R. L. Johnson (unpublished; in the University of Chicago library) shows that throughout his career Pope was revising plays and recommending them to the theaters. Such plays by Hill, Mallet, and Thomson were staged after 1717 in Drury Lane. Pope's attacks on Cibber are less scathing than Cibber had got from Fielding and from many anonymous journalists for years before he was crowned King of the Dunces. That coronation was in part due to the fact that Cibber was a popular butt—and to the fact that the preferment of Theobald to the place had not proved particularly popular.

<sup>3</sup> First revived on February 7, 1717.

your sharp Wits, I found, had made use of it before me; otherwise I intended to have stolen one of them in, in the Shape of a *Mummy*, and t'other, in that of a *Crocodile*." Upon which, I doubt, the Audience by the Roar of their Applause shew'd their proportionable Contempt of the Play they belong'd to. . . . But this, it seems, was so heinously taken by Mr. *Pope*, that, in the swelling of his Heart, after the Play was over, he came behind the Scenes, with his Lips pale and his Voice trembling, to call me to account for the Insult: And accordingly fell upon me with all the foul Language, that a Wit out of his Senses could be capable of—How durst I have the Impudence to treat any Gentleman in that manner? &c. &c. . . . When he was almost choked with the foam of his Passion, I was enough recover'd from my Amazement to make him (as near as I can remember) this Reply, *viz.* "Mr. *Pope*—You are so particular a Man, that I must be asham'd to return your Language as I ought to do: but since you have attacked me in so monstrous a Manner; This you may depend upon, that as long as the Play continues to be acted, I will never fail to repeat the same Words over and over again."<sup>1</sup>

This is the story which was told by Cibber long after the event, and which has been generally accepted as fact. It was picturesque, and it revealed Pope in the irritable rôle for which his enemies were casting him. And it was an easy explanation of the 1743 *Dunciad*. It is almost the only anecdote in which Pope appears as altogether without self-control. From this fact (if the anecdote is fact) as well as from the fact that the *Rehearsal*, as revived this year, was one of the most popular offerings of the season,<sup>2</sup> one suspects that Cibber has minimized the use made of the now-notorious *Three Hours* in his revival. But shall we accept Cibber's story? There can be no doubt that he struck back at his playwrights in *The Rehearsal*, but the story of Pope behind the scenes (told twenty-five years after the fact) is not at all the story told by the enemies of *Three Hours* in 1717. The attacks of these enemies were largely aimed at Pope, and if Pope actually went behind the scenes to threaten Cibber, it is strange that the authors of *A Letter to Mr. John Gay* (ca. March 1, 1717) and of *The Confederates* (March 30, 1717) should omit it. What they give us is a quite different tale of how John Gay went behind the scenes, at Pope's instigation, and "like a boxing bard" gave Cibber physical chastisement. "Cibber," says the author of the *Letter*,<sup>3</sup> "may tell the rest with sorrow." Breval appends to his *Confederates* "A Congratulatory Poem;

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> Played February 7, 8, 9, 20, 23; March 21, 28 (*Daily Courant*).

<sup>3</sup> Dedication (unnumbered).

Inscrib'd to Mr. Gay, on his valour and success behind Drury-Lane Scenes."<sup>1</sup> Gay is here classed among those bards who

dare, to show that they're stout-hearted,  
Draw Sword, when certain to be parted.

Pope and he, like "a lame man and a blind" club their talents:

So these our worthy Bards accord,  
Pope finds the Pen, and Gay the Sword;  
And may for Satire, and for Courage,  
B'esteem'd the Champions of our Age.

It may be urged that Pope and Gay may have gone behind the scenes on different occasions—the one to scold, the other to "box." That is the view taken by the author of the "Letter" in the Dublin, 1761, edition of *Three Hours*, who, however, incidentally tells us that "Mr. Pope's apparition to Mr. Cibber on this occasion was known to very few, but this of Mr. Gay was the common town and table-talk for some time."<sup>2</sup> Having come so far in our story, we must conclude that in 1717 gossip had wings. Had anyone in 1717 known of Pope's "apparition" to Cibber, the two narrators of the Gay-Cibber fight, both eager for material against Pope, would have mentioned it. They merely give Pope the task of urging Gay on and waiting safely at the club for his return from the battle. The natural conclusion is that Cibber, remembering with sorrow twenty-five years later, chose to remake the story into a version more creditable to himself and more applicable to a quarrel with Pope. The picturesque episode which he narrates, and which has hitherto done such service in explaining the *Dunciad*, must be suspected.

In any case the episode has been given undue emphasis by Cibber, for the satire on players contained in *Three Hours* shows that before this battle behind the scenes, Pope and Gay shared the widespread contempt felt for Cibber in any rôle but that of a stage fop. It was this satire on players in *Three Hours* that provoked Cibber to retaliate in *The Rehearsal*, and by the withdrawal of *Three Hours* from the stage our authors were probably encouraged to be more outspoken in their contempt than were writers of less assured reputations.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 39-40.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 218-19. The woman who writes this "Letter" gives a very detailed account of the scuffle, but either she was not skilful in describing such a fight or else was not (as she pretends) an eye witness. She is a partisan of Cibber; and her unconvincing details are too vivid for a pen writing probably at least thirty years after the event.

## V

It is curious how attacks on *Three Hours* persisted even after the play was withdrawn. Aside from the half-dozen pamphlets—the most interesting of which (*The Confederates*) came out over two months after the demise of the play—and aside from the quips in *The Rehearsal*, there were other interesting echoes in the theaters. At Drury Lane, April 2, was staged an after-piece (a dance?) called *The Shipwreck; or, Perseus and Andromeda*. Weaver was Perseus; Mrs. Bicknell (who had been Clinket) was Andromeda; and the Monster, enacted by Wade, was our old friend the crocodile—who had a busy season in 1717. The dance was performed at least four times.<sup>1</sup>

The other house, not to be outdone, on April 29 staged “a new dramatic entertainment of dancing, in grotesque characters” called *The Jealous Doctor; or, The Intriguing Dame*. The cast according to the *Daily Courant* was as follows:

Fossile . . . . .	Punch (Mr. Shaw?)
Plotwell . . . . .	Scaramouch (Mr. Thurmond?)
Underplot . . . . .	Harlequin (Mr. Lun?)
Ptisan . . . . .	Piero (Mr. Griffin?)
Mrs. Townley . . . . .	Columbine (Miss Schooling)

This dance had at least six performances during the season.<sup>2</sup> A further echo is found in the Prologue to Charles Johnson's *Sultaness*.<sup>3</sup> The Prologue to *Three Hours* had slurred dramatic translators. It had also protested that the play's satire was general, and it had thrown on the stage a fool's cap with the words: “Let him that takes it, wear it for his own.” Johnson, who was of the wits at Button's—“famous for writing a play a year and for being at Button's Coffee-house every day in the year”<sup>4</sup>—made a reply to this Prologue at the end of his own. He avowed taking his play from Racine, and concluded his prologue as follows:

At least, 'tis hop'd, he'll meet a kinder Fate,  
Who strives some *Standard* Author to translate,  
Than they, who give you, without once repenting,  
Long-labour'd Nonsense of their own inventing.  
Such Wags have been, who boldly durst adventure

<sup>1</sup> Advertised in the *Daily Courant* as performed April 2, 6, 9, and 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Daily Courant*, April 29, 1717; May 1, 3, 4, 7, 21.

<sup>3</sup> Acted at Drury Lane, February 25–28, 1717 (see *Daily Courant* for those days).

<sup>4</sup> *Characters of the Times*, 1728, p. 19; cf. *Dunciad*, 1729, p. 83n.



To Club a Farce by Tripartite-Indenture:  
But, let them share their Dividend of Praise,  
And their own *Fools Cap* wear, instead of Bays.

These echoes gradually died away leaving no added good-feeling between the collaborators and the wits at Button's. The attacks on Pope in connection with a play which was only in part his were too violent for anyone to forgive.<sup>1</sup> It was probably two or three years later that he began work on his *Progress of Dulness* which was destined—when Theobald's kingship became appropriate—to become the *Dunciad*. The enmity toward Cibber was not keen enough to give the satire life in 1720, though possibly—not probably—he may have been in the first forms of the poem the heir of Settle. That we do not know. We may safely conclude from the facts which we do know, that prejudice among the spectators, satire on Cibber, and the absurdity of the situations worked together for the ruin of *Three Hours after Marriage*, although it had (supported by its merit or by a present from "Timon" or the three ladies) a respectable number of performances. As to the attitude of the writers toward Cibber, it seems evident that it was formed before the play was written and was, consequently, a reflection of the general contempt men of brains felt toward the creator of stage fops rather than a reflection of private animosity. The treatment of Cibber in Pope's works does not warrant us in believing that much before 1742 private considerations<sup>2</sup> colored this contempt.

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<sup>1</sup> No attempt is here made to determine the parts each author invented or wrote. It is a doubtfully fruitful field for discussion. Pretty certainly Pope got most of the blame. One "dunce" (Gerard, *Epistle to the egregious Mr. Pope*, 1734, p. 12) echoes a common and prejudiced view:

The Grain of Wit was Gay's, the Mass of Scandal thine.

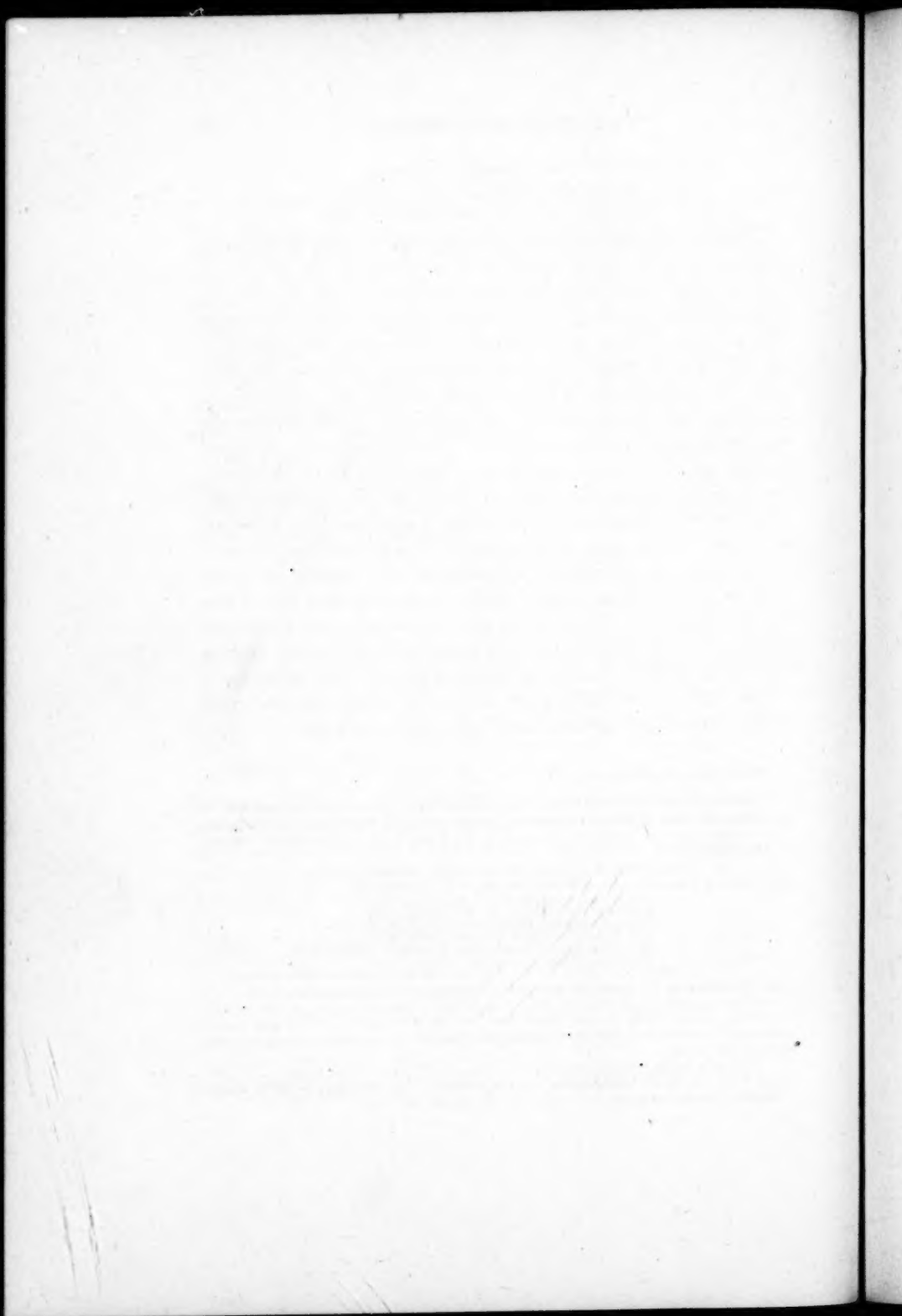
The violence of these 1717 attacks may be judged by the following:

No far-fetch'd Mummies on this Stage appear,  
Nor Snake, nor Shark, nor Crocodile is here;  
But, One Strange Monster we design to show,  
(His Fellow you ne'er saw in Channel-Row)  
On whom Dame Nature nothing good bestow'd,  
In Form, a Monkey; but for Spite, a Toad.

Prologue to Brevall's *Confederates*

The "Character of Mr. Pope" as depicted by Dennis in 1716 was appended to Parker's *Complete Key*, and, on February 9, 1717, was in part reprinted by *The Weekly Journal: or British Gazetteer*. The excerpt begins with "Mr. Pope is one whom God and Nature have mark'd for want of Common Honesty, and his own Contemptible Rhimes for want of Common Sense. . . ."

<sup>2</sup> Cibber's retort on the *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, l. 97, found in his *Letter . . . to Mr. Pope*, 1742, pp. 46-49, would arouse extreme animosity, but Pope had probably chosen Cibber as Theobald's successor before this *Letter* appeared.



## DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

During their recent visit to European libraries Professors Manly and Rickert obtained photostats and abstracts of documents and records which they believe will be of interest to other scholars. They purpose to publish these with a minimum of discussion.

The first document to be presented is too extensive to be printed in full, but its interest for students of Chaucer and of fourteenth-century England seems to justify a larger amount of explanation and comment than will perhaps often be necessary. It was discovered by Dr. Hubert Hall, formerly of the Public Record Office in London, who, although he recognized its great value for economic history, generously insisted upon placing it at the disposal of Professors Manly and Rickert.

Other members of the departments of modern languages have promised materials from their respective fields. The editors of *Modern Philology* invite the co-operation of scholars everywhere in making this new department interesting and valuable.

### EXTRACTS FROM A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ACCOUNT BOOK

The document designated as E 101 509/19 in the Public Record Office of London seems to be the only one of its kind thus far discovered in that vast collection of incompletely calendared records. It is a book containing in its present form forty-seven folios<sup>1</sup> in which a merchant kept account of his financial affairs between 1390 and 1395. Most of these are given under a heading for the year and month, but at the beginning there is a long list of debts carried over from 46 Edward III (1372) preceded by a memorandum which explains that they have been transcribed from another book:

Anno xlvj<sup>o</sup> mensis Julij

Ces sont lez dettours de Gybon Maufeld trans[c]riptz  
del noir paper com piert par le dit paper par nombr[er] ie  
dez foill[es] apres escritz depuis le viij iour de Juyl lan susdit

fol ij      Sire Robert Crull ..... iij li. sol<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On f. xxxixb there is a reference to f. xlix.

<sup>2</sup> f.1a. Here and throughout final flourishes, which are demonstrably meaningless, are ignored.

There follows a list of about eighty debtors with the sums they owed, many of the entries being canceled.

The name at the head of the list—Sir Robert Crull—is that of the newly appointed treasurer of Ireland to whom on May 9, 1386, Chaucer assigned almost two-thirds (4*l.* out of 6*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*) of the money paid on his annuity.<sup>1</sup> This entry at once suggests the Chaucerian interest of the work.

Actually, the book is of interest to students of fourteenth-century literature in several definite ways: (1) It illustrates the life and business of a great London merchant of the type described in Chaucer's *Prologue*; (2) it contains many entries that concern the court and city circles in which Chaucer moved, including one item hitherto unknown about the poet himself; (3) it furnishes considerable material for the better understanding of life in fourteenth-century London; (4) although written in French, it contains a number of English words antedating the quotations in the *New English Dictionary*; and (5) it affords an excellent example of a personal letter in French and the fragments of another in English, which must be reckoned among the oldest known of their kind. Pending the publication of the manuscript as a whole, the following extracts have been chosen as of special interest.

Concerning the owner of the book, who gives his name—Gilbert Maghfeld—in the memorandum quoted above, there is enough information in the various types of public records to write a short biography. Here only enough will be given to explain the entries in the book.

The first notice of him found thus far shows him as agent in Dantzic for a London merchant in 1367.<sup>2</sup> He is last mentioned apparently as if still alive in the Patent Rolls on August 10, 1397,<sup>3</sup> and he is described as "late citizen," May 24, 1398.<sup>4</sup>

His career is perhaps comparable to those of the better-known Walworth, Philpot, and Brembre, with each of whom he was, in widely different ways, associated. He was a neighbor of the Walworths in Billingsgate;<sup>5</sup> like Philpot in 1377, in 1383 he and his partner, Robert Parys, with two "mariners," undertook the keeping of the sea,<sup>6</sup> and when Brembre's enemies in 1388 succeeded in bringing him to the scaffold, Maghfeld obtained some of his forfeited estates.<sup>7</sup> What was meant by "keeping the sea" is made clearer by the payment to the four men, which was 2,500 marks, plus the 6*d.* in the pound and 2*s.* a tun granted to the King by Parliament (except certain sums taken at Dover) and half of the fines collected for non-payment. The patrol district was from Berwick-on-Tweed to Winchelsea, including, it is to be supposed,

<sup>1</sup> *Life Records*, IV, 258.

<sup>2</sup> R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. of Letters of the Mayor and Corporation . . . of London* (1855), pp. 154 f.

<sup>3</sup> *C.P.R.* (1396-99), p. 207.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 354, 358.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* (1381-85), p. 278.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* (1391-96), p. 690, and cf. *ibid.* (1388-92), p. 379.

London. As controller of the customs on which these sums were collected, Chaucer certainly came into contact with Maghfeld at this time.

With the transfer of the staple to Middelburg early in 1384 there came a different arrangement;<sup>1</sup> but Maghfeld was in 1386 given the important office of customer in the port of Boston,<sup>2</sup> and in 1388 he and Hugh Sprot were appointed customers in London.<sup>3</sup> They were still in office in 1391 when Chaucer as clerk of the works was allowed to draw upon the customs returns for 29*l.* 18*s.*<sup>4</sup>

Maghfeld was several times elected alderman, and in 1392 served as sheriff under circumstances of dramatic interest, discussion of which in connection with the account book must be reserved until later.

His wealth also will be discussed later. Here it is perhaps enough to say that as early as 1377 he was one of many rich men who contributed five marks to the King;<sup>5</sup> but in December, 1394, as his account book shows, he advanced fifty pounds toward the King's expedition to Ireland.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, he and Hugh Sprot (together with John Helmesdale, clerk of the navy, and John Michel, sergeant-of-arms)<sup>7</sup> were appointed, June 16, 1394, to array for the King's use in going to Ireland three ships: the King's ship "la George," Sir Thomas Percy's ship "la Trinite," and the ship called "la Trinite" of Roger Bosewyn of Plymouth.<sup>8</sup> With Bosewyn Maghfeld had several years before had some legal difficulty, for he paid a clerk in the Chancery for writing "certains briefs deuers Roger Bosewynes de plymmouth."<sup>9</sup> These ships were to be fitted out as an armada with artillery and so on. Of this enterprise there is an echo in the account book, on a page headed:

Anno xviii<sup>o</sup> mensis Junij Pour larreyement dez nefz Johan Mayheu R. . . . .

Thomas de lynne pour la vyage de Irland<sup>10</sup>

Memorandum qe moy Gybon Maghfeld auoir receuz de Richard honyman a son depart de loundres vers son pays en argent comptans  
Item receuz par diuersez obligacions par le temps qe le dit  
Richard fuist en son pays de diuerses gentz. Primus par obligacion  
de Symon Scheffeld . . . . . v li.

<sup>1</sup> How far the removal of Maghfeld and his partners was due to inability to perform the task, to the jealousy of rivals, or to other causes it is not at present possible to say. There were complaints. As early as July 7, 1383, John Phillpot and two sergeants-of-arms were appointed to "compose the dissensions which have arisen between subjects of the King who have assumed the custody of the sea towards the north and mariners and others of the Cinque Ports touching the partition of goods lately taken by them together in France" (*ibid.* [1381-85], p. 305; and cf. *C.C.R.*, 1381-85, pp. 367 f.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (1385-89), p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 425.

<sup>4</sup> *Life Records*, IV, 295.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Letter Book*, H, p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> f. xliljb.

<sup>7</sup> Both appear in his account book.

<sup>8</sup> *C.P.R.* (1391-96), p. 420; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 489, 520 f.

<sup>9</sup> f. xxlijb.

<sup>10</sup> f. xxxixb. After Johan Mayheu a word or words beginning with *R* cannot be read. As John Mayheu was master of the King's ship, "la Trinite" (*C.P.R.* [1391-96], p. 511) and Thomas de Lynne, a Dartmouth captain with whom Maghfeld had many dealings, was master of the King's ship "la George" (*ibid.*), it seems probable that the missing words are the name of the third captain—Roger de Bosewyne of Plymouth.

Item par obligacion de Johan Welde .....	xvij li. xvij s. x d.
Item par obligacion de Richard Barker .....	xluij li.
Item par obligacion de Geo[rge] Deny .....	xliij li. xij s.
Item par obligacion de William Wotton .....	xxix li. x s.
Item receuz de Johan Barlebourgh pour Bartelm Zabulon....	xxviiij li. ix s. v d.
Item receuz de J. Barlebourgh pour Johan Welde .....	vij li. xxij d.
Item receuz de Richard honyman mesme .....	x li.
Item receuz de luy mesme .....	xl li.
Item receuz de luy mesme .....	l li.
Item receuz hors del somme qil lessa en mayn qant il depart de loundres vers son pays .....	} xx li.
Item receuz hors de dit somme .....	
Item receuz hors de dite somme .....	xl li.
Item receuz de Richard Merlawe pour Johan Stille de sandwych pour cordez achatez par Johan atte Nasshe .....	} vij li. xliij s. x d.
Item iay assigne le dit Richard a paier as diuerses gentz .....	
liij li.	
Dont le dit Richard ad resceuz du dit Gybon vne taille leuez com piert apres escritz en le xlix <sup>e</sup> foille <sup>1</sup>	

Within three years Maghfled had died a bankrupt and his goods and chattels in Billingsgate had been seized into the King's hands<sup>2</sup>—undoubtedly including his account books, of which this one has been preserved ever since among government documents.<sup>3</sup>

Like Chaucer's Merchant, Maghfled engaged extensively in both "bar-gaynes" and "chevisaunce." Of the numerous kinds of things in which he dealt the following list may give some idea: iron, copper, gravel, lead, stones, millstones, wainscot from Prussia, boards, wood, coal, quicklime, rock alum, grain, ginger, saffron, licorice, silk, wool, skins, furs, linen, hats, wines, stock-fish, herring, sturgeon, salmon, pearls. Study of his prices would make a contribution to our knowledge of money values in the fourteenth century.

But equally important was his "chevisaunce." Apparently he was a professional moneylender. To what extent he practiced the usury complained of in the London Letter Books cannot be told from his book as he gives no indication of rate of interest but merely records the sum to be repaid in even pounds, marks, nobles, half-nobles, or shillings. It may safely be assumed that the borrower got less than he had to repay.

It would seem that the merchant's risks must have been considerable. The loan was commonly "par oblig" (i.e., obligation); rarely, "par plegg" (bondsman); still more rarely, by sealed indenture. Now and then articles were accepted as security for small loans, as: a "nouche" of silver, a silver

<sup>1</sup> f. xxxixb. June, 1394.

<sup>2</sup> C.P.R. (1396-99), p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> Whether he was ruined by the Irish expedition which did so much to ruin the King it is at present impossible to say. It may be noted that on ff. xlvi and xlvij of the book there is a long account with one Thomas Craft in which the expenses outweigh several times the receipts, running up to several hundred pounds.



girdle, a covered beaker of silver, silver plate, a vestment and chalice, a baselard, a mazer. Once a book was pledged, its title *Tresor de Philosophie*.

The following example of a loan of this type is interesting also because it refers apparently to another set of accounts:

Frere Waulter Somerton doit en le veille de toutz Seintz sur ij petitz tabulles  
dor a paier a la Purificacion nostre Dame . . . . .xl s.<sup>1</sup>

Maghfeld's clients and customers include scores of merchants of London and other English towns, representing more than thirty guilds,<sup>2</sup> besides merchants of Prussia (Hamburg and Königsberg), of La Rochelle, of Bayonne and Bordeaux, of Italy and Spain. In the book are also entries concerning a score or so of knights and squires in royal households, sergeants-of-arms, clerks in the Exchequer and Chancery, several controllers in the Custom House (Chaucer's successors), two "men of law," many chaplains and parsons, including nearly a dozen great ecclesiastics: the warden and treasurer of Canterbury cathedral; the abbots of Waltham and St. Mary Grace by the Tower; the bishops of Dublin, Ely, Exeter, St. David's, Durham,<sup>3</sup> and Winchester.<sup>4</sup> To the Mayor, the Chamberlain, and the Corporation of London as a body, Maghfeld made loans; and if we may judge from certain entries quoted below (and others like them) he dealt also with the Earl of Derby, the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, and, possibly once, even the King himself.

The following extracts illustrate a few of the many transactions:

Monsieur Thomas Percy doit pour subsidie de iij s. par ton jn le neif de  
Johan Mayhew le xiiij iour de Nouembre anno xv<sup>e</sup> pour vij ton de vyn. . . . .xxj s.<sup>5</sup>

Adam Bam maire de Loundres doit en le Lundy de Pentecost pour j  
chaplet de soye de Tryple. . . . .xiiij s. iiij d.<sup>6</sup>

Johan Hauley de Dertemouth doit en le xv<sup>e</sup> iour de Nouembre a paier deins

<sup>1</sup> f. xlija. October, 1394. In the margin to the left is added: "vacat quia in paruo paper." Here as elsewhere the cancellation of the debt is shown by an irregular line scrawled over the item. Occasionally "sol" (for *solutum*) is added in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the Londoners appear in the Letter Books, and not a few of them are aldermen and mayors. Of other towns Boston and Dartmouth are perhaps mentioned most frequently. Among the crafts and trades represented may be listed: coppersmith, founder, ironmonger, smith; goldsmith; mason, carpenter, timberman, joiner; millmaker; saddler; bowyer; chandler, waxhandler; dyer, hatter, mercer, draper, linendraper, skinner; shearmen; spurrier; shipman, boatman, mariner; glover; lunner, scrivener; fishmonger, stockfishmonger, grocer, baker, brewer, vintner, taverner. The names without indication of business undoubtedly cover other occupations not yet worked out.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Skirlawe, with whom Chaucer was associated on an embassy to France in 1377 (*Life Records*, IV, 203 f.). The bishop of St. David's here named was successor to the one sent on the same embassy.

<sup>4</sup> William of Wykeham, the chancellor.

<sup>5</sup> f. xxxiiija. Under the heading Nov., 1393. Percy was steward of the King's household. In 1377 Chaucer had been sent with him to Flanders on a mission (*L.R.*, IV, 201).

<sup>6</sup> f. xijb. May, 1391. Canceled. Was the goldsmith who made cups for John of Gaunt to give Philippa Chaucer a dandy?

vn mois prochein apres .....xl li.<sup>1</sup>  
 Sur plegge de vint milles de ferre longe

Margerete Spenser Selkwomman de Soperslane London doit par

obligacion en le vj<sup>e</sup> iour de March anno xv<sup>e</sup> pour <sup>xx</sup>iiij vij lb. .... xxvij li.  
 & iij quarters dune lb. de soy crude qe face par pois de mercerie lxx lb. &  
 iij quarters a viij s. vj d. le lb. Summa ..... xviii s.  
 a payer al feste del Nativite S. Johan Baptiste prochein  
 auenir ix li. vj s. Et al feste de Michel donques apres ensuantz  
 is li. vj s. Et al feste de Nativite nostre seignour donques  
 prochein apres ix li. vj s. &c. Item dont receuz en biens. ....xxijs.<sup>2</sup>

Le Euesqe de Wyncestre doit pour iij Molez a iij li. le pere summa ix li.  
 Dont j pere a Eyscher ij [sic] pere a Farnham & j pere demourant le Caye de G  
 Maghfeld

Dont Receu de Lauynton Clerik. ....iij li.  
 xv iour de Juyl anno xvij<sup>e</sup> par le mayns de Johan Brymmestone. ....vj li.  
 Et Eque<sup>3</sup>

Johan Clerc de Botelston doit qe il ad receuz del Counte  
 de Derby qe fuist appreste a luy en Puce ouesqe autres .....vj li. xij s. iij d.  
 gentz de Loundres de lynne & Botelston chescun x marcz  
 destierling issint qe le dit Johan doit qe il ad recuz pour moy

R. de Blomvill vj li. xij s. vj d.<sup>4</sup>

Sire Thomas Worston Chancellere de monsieur Deuerwyke doit dapprest  
 par obligacion le xx iour de Nouembre a payer en le xv<sup>e</sup> de  
 Pasche proschein apres .....x li.<sup>5</sup>  
 qe fuist a Richard honyman com piert apres

Robert Corke Esquier ouesqe monsieur le Duc de Gloucestre doit  
 en le xxiiij iour de Mart pour frett & aueryez dune pipe de vyn  
 qe fuist en le neif de Johan Senches de Spaigne .....xij s. iij d.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> f. xvijb. Nov., 1391. Canceled, with "alibi" in the left margin.

Hauley was the piratical shipowner who may have owned the *Maudelayne* of Dertomuth, of which Chaucer's equally piratical Shipman was captain (see Manly, *New Light on Chaucer*). Between Aug. 14 and Dec. 12, 1391, he ceased to be escheator for Devonshire (*C.C.R.* [1389-92], pp. 386, 420). Does the large loan mean that he expected to need money in settling his accounts? It should not be overlooked that Maghfeld required a pledge to the full value of the loan (one "mille" of "ferre" is listed at xl 9).

<sup>2</sup> f. xxb. Feb., 1392. Not canceled. In 1370 the silkwoman was living in Soperslane in a tenement belonging to Thomas de Grantham and evidently near the Chaucer property there. Richard Chaucer was one of the executors of the will of John de Grantham, father of Thomas, and Nicholas Chaucer witnessed the discharge of the surviving executor in 1355 (cf. *L.R.*, IV, 148, and *Cal. Letter Books*, G, pp. 37, 264).

<sup>3</sup> f. lxa. Under the heading Jan., 1391. Canceled.

<sup>4</sup> f. xvb. Aug., 1391. Canceled. Obscure as this transaction is, it shows Maghfeld repaying an advance made by Henry, Earl of Derby, while in Prussia.

<sup>5</sup> f. xlija. Nov., 1394. Entries concerning this or other loans for x li. are on f. xlijb and f. xlixa, where the Chancellor is called Broughton.

<sup>6</sup> f. xxxvja. March, 1394. Unless the squire was speculating in wine, he was probably buying for the Duke.

Memorandum qe iay apretee al Gildehalle le xxij<sup>e</sup> iour de Decembre  
 lan xvj<sup>e</sup> qe fuist paye a lez mains Henri Vannere....xx marcz....xx marcz  
 Item apretee a William Staundon maire qe fuist pour le  
 Counte de Huntyngtoun.....x marcz.....x marcz  
 Item appreste pour le mommyng al Roy a Eltham al feste de Noell xl s.<sup>1</sup>

This entry is full of interest. Money is lent to the Guildhall as a corporation, passing through the hands of Henry Vanner, whom Chaucer knew in 1390,<sup>2</sup> and more money is given to the Mayor to be paid to the King's half-brother, the Earl of Huntington, who had a grant out of the customs. Money is advanced "for the mumming to the King at Eltham at the feast of Christmas."<sup>3</sup> This mumming it is highly probable Chaucer saw, for on January 9, during the Christmas revels, the King gave him ten pounds as a reward for his "good service" during the "present year."<sup>4</sup>

Passing over many other items of interest, we come to two which can hardly be omitted. In the first we see Maghfeld acting as a sort of contractor:  
 Item par G. Maghfeld pour saint Anton pour iij quarters Waynscot.....xv s.  
 [Irrelevant item concerning Thomas Blossel]  
 Item de Gybon Maghfeld dJC de Wainscot.....x s.  
 Item deliure a Macclesfeld pour saint Anton xx Wainscot.....

vacat quia paie al R. honyman

Item deliure pour le pathyng du seynt Anton iij milles pathyngtiel  
 Item paye par J. Schirbrok a ij pauyours & a lour vallet & pour  
 sonde & nonsenches par ij iours.....ij s. six d.ob.<sup>5</sup>

Maghfeld, then, provided materials for the repair of St. Anthonin, a church in the neighborhood of the Chaucers and also for the laying of a pavement in or near it, the workmen being given their lunches.<sup>6</sup>

The second entry reads:

Memorandum qe Gybon Maghfeld ad paye a Noell as portours pour le  
 ston pour le graue del Euesqe Dexeestre & pour j bell j Chestre  
 a luy tout.....xxviij d.  
 Item paie a longe Johan pour le cariage du dit pere al Nief.....xvj d.  
 a xxvj d. le lb.

Item paye pur iij lb. vij vns de Grenegyngyuer par son Catour.....ix s. vij d.  
 Item pour mesounger pour le pere & tout.....ij s.  
 Sire Thomas More Clerke doit pour Rynges door.....iiij li.<sup>7</sup>

The bishop was Thomas Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter from 1370 to 1394. In 1369, he was controller of the king's household when Chaucer was a

<sup>1</sup> f. xxvlija. Dec., 1392. Nothing canceled.

<sup>2</sup> L.R., IV, 284.

<sup>3</sup> Translated literally; but the meaning may be that the money was advanced to some person unnamed for the mumming to be given in the King's presence at Eltham.

<sup>4</sup> L.R., IV, 315.

<sup>5</sup> f. xliija. 1390-91. Canceled. The line under "vacat," etc., is stricken through.

<sup>6</sup> On pavements in front of churches where markets were held, see *Letter Book*, H, p. 133, and for a market by this very church (*ibid.*, p. 301).

<sup>7</sup> f. viijb. Dec., 1390. Only the last item is canceled.

yeoman there, and in 1378 he was the treasurer who disbursed Chaucer's expenses to Italy.<sup>1</sup>

But the entry remains puzzling. Apparently the Bishop ordered his gravestone some four years before his death. Perhaps, like Richard II and other notables, he wished to make sure of one to his liking. And the combination with bell and chest and green ginger is strange. The gold rings may have been a different purchase, as the cancellation suggests.<sup>2</sup>

In the book altogether there are thirty to forty names of persons who either appear in the *Life Records* or are in some other way unmistakably associated with Chaucer. Of such items four at least must be given here:

Henri Scoggan doit dapprest en le ij iour de septembre appaier al feste  
par obligacion  
de seint Michel prochein apres. . . . . xxvj s.viiij d.<sup>3</sup>

Three entries concern Henry Yevele, chief mason in charge of the works when Chaucer was clerk and on his pay-roll:

Mestre henri yeuele doit pour mellestones. . . . . vj li.<sup>4</sup>  
Item j obligacion fait a henri yueley le xvij iour de march anno xviiij<sup>o</sup>  
a paier en le xv iour de Decembre apres pour leuesqe Dely. . . . . cxxx li.<sup>5</sup>  
Meistre henri yuele doit dapprest pour vj C iij quarters xiiij lb. de  
plomb a x marcz le Fodour. . . . . xliij s.iiij d.<sup>6</sup>

Was Yevele, then, the master-mason in the repair of Westminster Hall, engaged in the building operations which seem to have been going on at Ely at the end of the fourteenth century? In Maghfeld's book, just above the second item about Yevele, we find the Bishop himself with two parsons giving a recognizance for 119*l*. 15*s*.<sup>7</sup> and entries in the Close Rolls show him borrowing elsewhere at this time.<sup>8</sup>

To a "John Gower Esquire" the allusions are as follows:

Memorandum qe Gybon Maufeld ad paye pour Johan Gower Esquier  
a j Schippman pour frett dune bras pott mis par lettre  
de lyane iesqes a loundres. . . . . xvj d.  
Item il ad paye deuant pour cariage dune chest al Ewe pour  
envoier au dit Johan a Hull. . . . . iiij d.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *L.R.*, IV, 163, 171, 173; 217.

<sup>2</sup> Long John, elsewhere in the book called a "lyghterman" (ff. xxb and xxviiijb) got into the Patent Rolls through an accident. While he was conveying wines and other goods in his barge, a man fell overboard and was drowned. The boat, worth twenty marks, was confiscated; but later, in view of the lighterman's great age and weakness, was restored to him (*C.P.R.* [1388-92], p. 508, and *ibid.* [1391-96], p. 36).

<sup>3</sup> f. iiijb. Sept. 2, 1390. Not canceled. Scoggan and three other men—one Roger Ellinham or Elmham, Chaucer's successor as clerk of the works in 1391—were bound as mainpernors for a detinue of 106*s*. 8*d*. on Sept. 7, 1390 (*C.C.R.* [1389-92], p. 286). Had this anything to do with Scoggan's need of ready money?

<sup>4</sup> f. va. Sept., 1390. Canceled.

<sup>5</sup> f. xlb. Under the heading August, 1394. Canceled.

<sup>6</sup> f. xliija. Nov., 1394. Canceled.

<sup>7</sup> *C.C.R.* (1392-96), pp. 228, 500.

<sup>8</sup> f. xlb. August, 1394. Canceled.

<sup>9</sup> f. xxvija. October, 1392. Canceled.

Johan Gower Esquier doit dapprest par obligacion en le veille de  
seint Johan Baptiste a paier deinz iij symaignes proscetinz  
apres. ....iij li.vj s.viiij d.<sup>1</sup>

That this man was the poet it is perhaps impossible to prove; but the "esquire" shows that he was not the parson of that name; and the nature of the entries and the amount borrowed suggest a person of the poet's rank and means. Perhaps at present no more can be said.

The last entry to be quoted concerns Chaucer himself:

Geffray Chauxcer doit dapprest en le xxviij jour de  
juyl a paier en le samedy proscchein apres. ....xxvj s. viij d.<sup>2</sup>

As no evidence has been produced to show that there were two Geoffrey Chaucers, perhaps we may assume that the entry refers to the poet. If so, the curious thing is that he should have been borrowing this comparatively small sum only fifteen days after he had received at the Exchequer the large sum of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Perhaps this is not more odd, however, than that the Exchequer should have left unpaid the small sum of 12*s.* 4*d.* still due on his account as clerk of the works. But as to the sudden need for money which sent him to a moneylender for an advance of six days we can only speculate.<sup>3</sup>

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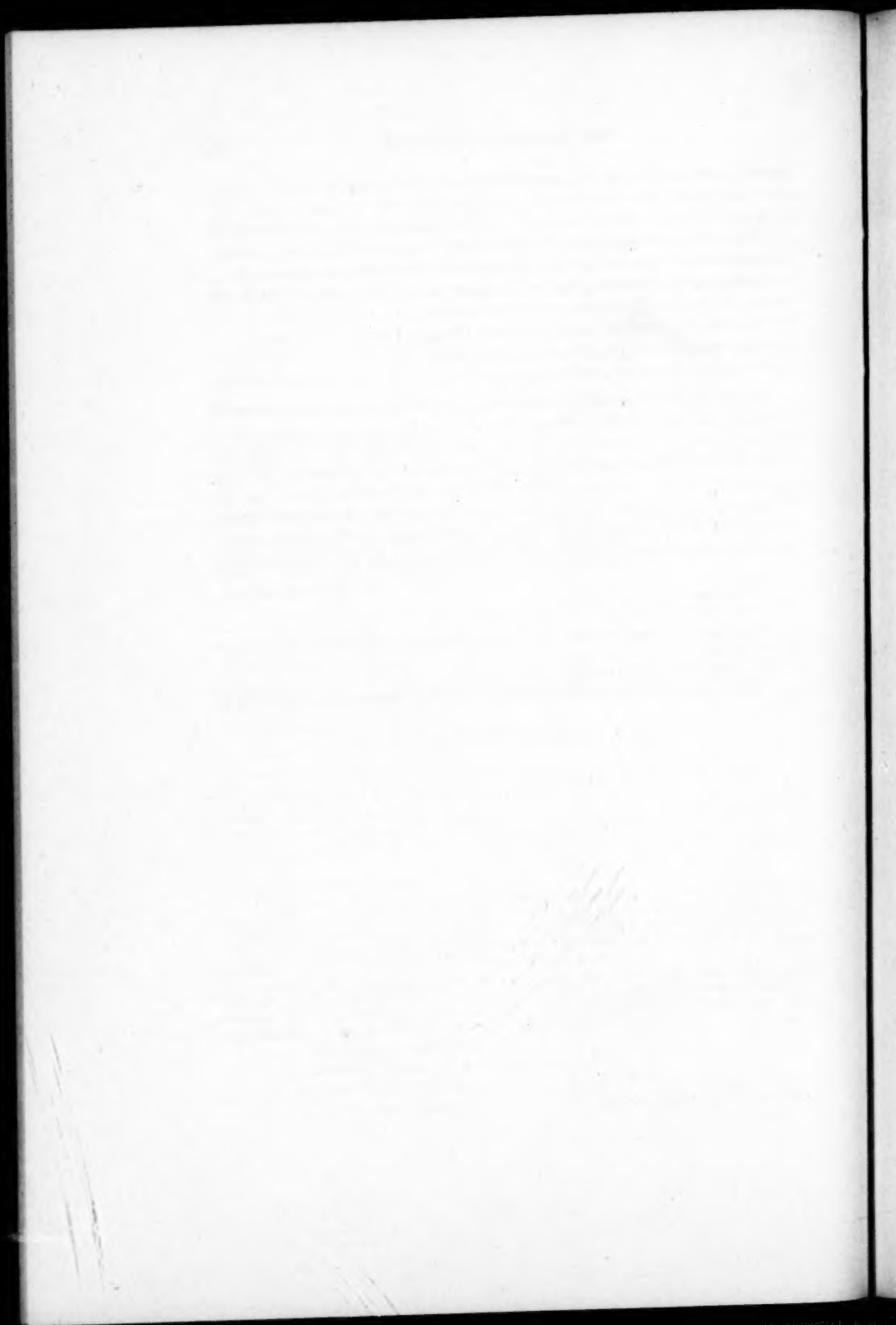
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<sup>1</sup> Undated; last item, last page. The second item above is dated June 15, 18th year [1395]. Canceled.

<sup>2</sup> f. xxliija. July, 1392. Canceled.

<sup>3</sup> This spelling of the name agrees with that of the root word—*chaus*—also used in the book.

[To be continued]





## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

*Le Opere di Dante Alighieri*, a cura del DR. E. MOORE, nuovamente rivedute nel testo dal DR. PAGET TOYNBEE. Quarta Edizione. Oxford: Nella Stamperia Dell' Università.

From 1894 to 1921 the Oxford Dante, in three successive editions—the second of 1897, the third of 1904—held the field as the most authoritative text of the complete works of Dante; and upon its enumeration of poems, chapters, lines, etc., were based the references in Dr. Toynbee's Dante dictionaries and in the Dante concordances issued since 1900 by the American Dante Society.

In 1921, however, there appeared the complete *Opere di Dante* of the Società Dantesca Italiana, which superseded the Oxford Dante both in respect to the definition of the Dante canon and in text. And at about the same time the third edition of the Oxford Dante went out of print.

A fourth edition of the Oxford Dante has now appeared, edited by Dr. Toynbee, who had helped Dr. Moore in the preparation of the earlier editions.

The particular justification for the issuance of this new edition is the desirability of having a text to be used in connection with the dictionaries and concordances referred to above. There is a sentimental justification as well—the Oxford Dante has rendered such service and won such affection, particularly in the English-speaking world, that it is a pleasure to have it again in renewed youth.

The greatest change in respect to content is in the *Rime*. Barbi's canon of fifty-four lyrics (in addition to those of the *Vita nuova* and the *Convivio*) as being Dante's beyond question is accepted, and Toynbee gives these lyrics an arrangement better and simpler than that of Barbi. Toynbee includes only eleven of the twenty-six lyrics which Barbi prints as *rime dubbie* and adds thereto one sonnet, *E' non è legno di sì forti nocchi*, which Barbi classes as spurious. There would hardly seem to be adequate reason for the retention of the fourteen lyrics which Toynbee classes as spurious, or for the retention of the Seven Penitential Psalms and the Profession of Faith, which were anachronisms even in the third edition.

The three Batifolle letters are also included.

Toynbee has profited in text by the edition of the Società Dantesca Italiana, by various other works, and by research of his own. His work is done, as always, with great care; and he shows much ingenuity in making the new edition, with its various changes, convenient for use in connection with the works of reference based upon the earlier editions.

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*Mediæval Romance in England. A Study of the Sources and Analogues of the Non-Cyclic Metrical Romances.* By LAURA A. HIBBARD, Ph.D., Associate Professor of English Literature in Wellesley College. New York: Oxford University Press, 1924.

The production of such bibliographies as Wells's *Manual of Writings in Middle English* and Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious Verse* requires and involves a scholarship no less accurate and extensive than the most accomplished original investigations; and they are of high value to scholarship, especially in the suggestions they carry as to the present state of our knowledge and the problems which still confront us. A worthy addition to this group is the volume on the non-cyclic metrical romances by Professor Laura A. Hibbard (now Mrs. Roger Loomis) published by Wellesley College in the series celebrating its semi-centennial.

The author has taken for her field that interesting body of romances which, notwithstanding their great number and their vogue, escaped the famous classification of Jean Bodel, and she emphasizes their value both for the social historian and for the student of literature. Scholars will in general approve of her plan of work and the manner in which it is executed. This plan involves a survey of previous investigations of each romance, of the principal contributions due to each investigator, and of the problems left unsolved. The bibliography appended to each romance includes a complete list of texts, but in general only such studies as have appeared since 1900. Some critics may perhaps disapprove of this limitation of the bibliography, but there are many advantages in the simplification it effects, and it is hard to see how it involves any serious disadvantages, as all important discussions of an earlier date are listed and summarized in the text.

The romances are classified in three groups, and the classification is fairly satisfactory, although not based upon a single principle, and although certain romances might equally well be included in one of the other groups. One of them, indeed, hardly seems to belong to the general type, although we may well be grateful for its inclusion here. The groups are as follows:

I. Romances of Trial and Faith

Isumbras  
 Florence of Rome  
 Emaré  
 Erle of Tolous  
 King of Tars  
 Gowther (Robert the Devil)  
 Robert of Cisyle  
 Amis and Amiloun  
 Amadas  
 Cleges

## II. Romances of Legendary English Heroes

King Horn  
 Horn Childe  
 Havelok the Dane  
 Beves of Hampton  
 Guy of Warwick  
 Reinbrun  
 Athelston  
 Richard Coeur de Lion  
 Gamelyn

## III. Romances of Love and Adventure

Apollonius of Tyre  
 Seven Sages of Rome  
 Floris and Blancheflur  
 Orfeo  
 Partonope of Blois  
 William of Palerne  
 Ipomedon  
 Generides  
 Chevalere Assigne (Knight of the Swan)  
 Knight of Courtesy (Châtelain de Couci)  
 Squyr of Lowe Degre  
 Octavian  
 Eglamour  
 Torrent of Portyngale  
 Triamour  
 Roswall and Lillian  
 Lay le Freine  
 Degare  
 Degrevant  
 Eger, Grime, and Graysteele

As this list shows, the selection is a rich one, and very varied in its quality and interest. All students of medieval romance will wish to use the volume and, it may confidently be said, will feel grateful to the author for the accuracy and fulness of the discussions, for the clearness with which the present state of knowledge and opinion on each romance is set forth, and for the frequent suggestions of further problems.

In books of this sort typographical inconsistencies and errors seem inevitable. The present volume has perhaps fewer than most, but that it has not escaped the common fate the following specimens will indicate: "Asloan" is spelled "Aslone" on page 177, although correctly given on page 181. "Bodleian" is badly disfigured as "Bodleran" on page 163. The names of a few authors suffer from editorial carelessness. Thus Professor Albert S. Cook appears on page 199 as "A. Cook," Professor W. P. Ker, page 199, as W. Ker, Professor W. H. Schofield as W. Schofield, page 199. But perhaps Mr. H. G.

Leach suffers most, appearing as he does on page 108 as H. Leach and on page 163 as H. S. Leach. Errors of this sort, though of little importance in themselves, may easily cause an inexperienced student a great deal of unnecessary trouble. Titles of books and articles are in general printed with remarkable accuracy, but "der" is misprinted "de" in the note on page 204, and "Melusinsensage" somehow gets an extra *g* in note 14, page 207. In general the style of the volume is admirably simple and clear, but there are two sentences in which the author hardly seems to have expressed her meaning with entire success: "Skeat thought the poem was written before 1303, asserting that he caught echoes in it from Robert Manning's *Handlyng Synne*" (p. 105); "In this, as in *Orfeo*, Etain, the happy wife of Eochid, high king of Ireland, is stolen away by Midir, a fairy king, to whom in a former life she has been wedded" (p. 198). But I have noticed singularly few errors, considering the nature of the work and the vast amount of detail involved; and the positive merits of the book are many and of a very high order.

JOHN M. MANLY

*Volkskundliche Bibliographie für das Jahr 1917.* By EDUARD HOFFMANN-KRAYER. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1919. Pp. xv+108.

*Volkskundliche Bibliographie für das Jahr 1918.* By EDUARD HOFFMANN-KRAYER. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1920. Pp. xvii+126.

*Volkskundliche Bibliographie für das Jahr 1919.* By EDUARD HOFFMANN-KRAYER. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1922. Pp. xvi+142.

*Volkskundliche Bibliographie für das Jahr 1920.* By EDUARD HOFFMANN-KRAYER. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1924. Pp. xviii+212.

Few subjects of philological interest stand more in need of bibliographical assistance than does folklore and few have been as poorly served in the history of scholarly endeavor. A strangely unfavorable star has been in the ascendant at the birth of almost all enterprises designed to improve the facilities for the study of folklore. Of the latest effort the first four annual numbers are before me. Notwithstanding the obvious difficulties in the editor's way—among numerous hindrances the first two issues were compiled during the war—the task has been well performed. The latest number attains the very respectable total of 2,768 entries, a number somewhat increased by the repairing of many deficiencies of the earlier issues. The student of folklore may, therefore, reckon with an annual output of something like 2,000 titles. Clearly the number is sufficient to justify, indeed to demand, a critical survey of the annual accumulation. The scope of the publication is perhaps a little larger than the English-speaking reader might expect, for under *Volkskunde* are included such subjects as primitive art, utensils employed by the folk,

types of houses, migrations and settlements of races, as well as the more familiar themes of popular customs, superstitions, and literature.

In order to appreciate properly this new undertaking, it should be seen in perspective as the climax of a long series of efforts. One must review, if only hastily, the bibliographical history of folklore, although one cannot be certain in such an untrodden field of mentioning all the publications that have appeared. Three stages may be seen in the advance to the *Volkskundliche Bibliographie* of Professor Hoffmann-Krayer. The first is that in which folkloristic materials are collected more or less casually and unsystematically by philological bibliographers. An early and rather meritorious example of this kind was the annual bibliography compiled by Karl Bartsch for *Germania*, VIII (1863) to XXIV (1879), covering the years 1862-78. For the student of Germanic literature it is now superseded by more convenient and more serviceable cumulations, but the student of folklore will still find many a useful item here. This undertaking was brought to an end by the long sickness and death of Bartsch and by the rise of a competing annual bibliography, which has become the standard authority in its field: the *Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie*, 1879—. In the *Jahresbericht* Germanic folklore has been treated more or less regularly, but the material has never been completely assembled from even one Germanic language nor has the subject been treated as a unit. The Scandinavian sections, for example, are generally rather useful, but they stand alone, quite separate from English folklore, which is but casually included, and from German folklore, which has prospered in the hands of Johannes Bolte. The tradition of including titles from this field in philological bibliographies is further exemplified by the brilliant, one-sided, and incomplete article of F. S. Krauss, which covers the publications of the quinquennium 1892-97, in Vollmöller's *Kritischer Jahresbericht*. The experiment was repeated for the succeeding quinquennium. Here we have a single section of the bibliography devoted to folklore and covering all the languages within the scope of the report. Apparently the experiment did not commend itself to the editors, for in later issues the folkloristic notes are scattered under linguistic divisions. A similarly ill-fated essay toward a folkloristic bibliography may be found in the *Jahresbericht für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, where it bore the captions "Kulturgeschichte" and "Stoffgeschichte" for a brief term. In all these indispensable summaries of scientific and scholarly progress—in the *Jahresberichte* of one kind and another, in the *International Catalogue of Scientific Literature* (Section H: "Anthropology"), and even in our own *Index Medicus*, which was until its latest revision a year or two ago handy and serviceable for this purpose—one finds titles which belong in a folklore bibliography, but the references are often casual and always incomplete.

The efforts to form a bibliography, either cumulative or annual, of the folklore literature in a single language have been equally various. In the early years of the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* an attempt was made to

provide a review of Slavic contributions, but it was soon discontinued. Its place was filled by the reviews in *Wislá*, by the elaborate and careful collections of Zšort in *Český Lid*, and by the bibliography in the *Národopisný Sborník* [later *Věstník*] *Československý*, but for readers of west European languages there existed no survey of Slavic publications until, at the beginning of the century, it was once more undertaken by the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* under the management of Brückner and Polívka. Contemporary with the early efforts to provide a Slavic bibliography was the endeavor in the British *Folk-Lore Journal* to create a bibliography of English folklore, which attained only to the letter *D*. These struggles found completion in only one country: Pitř furnished a model for later undertakings in the *Bibliografia delle tradizioni popolari d'Italia*, Turin and Palermo, 1894, with 603 pages and 6,680 entries. Beside this, the standard folklore bibliography of a single country, there can be put only a single work, an annual cumulation for a single country. This second model regional bibliography is the little-known section entitled "*Volkskunde*" in the *Kritisch-bibliographischer Jahresbericht der estnischen Philologie*. Of this, two issues have already appeared: that for 1918 (Dorpat, 1922), 37 pages, 66 entries; and that for 1919 (Dorpat, 1923), 44 pages, 105 entries. Although this bibliography is a section in an annual philological bibliography and might, therefore, be classed with those mentioned in a preceding paragraph, it deserves separate mention as the work of Walter Anderson, professor of comparative folklore. It is so complete, so excellent in its arrangement, and so easily utilized that it belongs in a class by itself. As further examples of bibliographies of folklore within certain regional limitations there may be mentioned the occasional reports in the *Revue d'ethnographie et des traditions populaires* and the excellent annual listing of Swiss publications in the *Archiv für schweizerische Volkskunde*.

Among the bibliographies of folklore considered internationally, the first has apparently been usually overlooked: Karłowicz, "*Najnowsze badania podań i ich zbioru*," *Ateneum* (Warsaw), XXX (1883), No. ii, 49, which was also issued separately. It is known to most readers only by the favorable review of F. S. Krauss (*Am Urquell*, I [1890], 144). A new epoch in which scholars are at no time without a comprehensive bibliography, from one or another source, may fairly be said to begin with the publication of the *Volkskundliche Zeitschriftenschau*, a supplement to the *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* during the years 1903-5. This was the first effort to collect on a large scale the international contributions to folklore study. It limited itself to excerpting with the utmost thoroughness a surprisingly long list of journals. Despite its size it is not as readily usable as it might be, for each journal is excerpted in turn and the only attempts at classification appear in the grouping of the journals and an insufficient index. On its decease there appeared, as if to carry on the work of international bibliography, a list of titles which restricted itself to works published in the British Empire or by subjects of the British Empire: N. W. Thomas, *Bibliography of Folk-lore*. This, like the *Zeitschrift-*



*enschau*, attained to three issues: the first (for 1905) published in 1906 under the auspices of the British Folk-lore Society and two further issues (for 1906 and 1907), which the society did not sponsor. Clearly the curious restrictions put upon it greatly reduced its usefulness. It was followed by an enterprise which enjoyed a still shorter life: a very meritorious bibliography (L. de Wolf, *Bibliographia Folklorica Periodica*, Bruges: Plancke) issued as a supplement to the Belgian periodical *De Biekerf*. This, the first comprehensive and systematically arranged bibliography, appeared only for the years 1908-10. A descendant of the *Zeitschriftenschau* was A. Abt, *Die volkskundliche Literatur des Jahres 1911* (published 1912) of which a second issue (for 1912), long listed among Teubner's publications, attained only to the stage of galley-proof. This was an excellent bibliography and one can only regret the shortness of its life. Contemporary with it was A. F. Chamberlain, *Current Anthropological Literature 1912 and 1913*, which sprang from a bibliography first published in the columns of the *Journal of American Folk-lore*. With the death of its compiler it ceased to exist. Although it was primarily an anthropological bibliography, the catholicity of Professor Chamberlain's interests prevented it from becoming narrowly specialized, and the folklore student finds it a useful tool. In a casual way E. Mogk listed a number of titles dealing with folklore in the *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XII (1916), 231-70, 456-500. He provides a working list of the more important works of the past twenty or thirty years, without, however, making any effort at completeness or seeking to include magazine articles. On these many ephemeral publications there now follows the *Volkskundliche Bibliographie*. By attaining to four issues it has already outlived the span of life allotted to the ordinary folklore bibliography. Although the turbulent and checkered history of its predecessors is no good omen, the folklore scholar cannot but hope for its success.

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